

ROMANCE NOTES



VOLUME II, NUMBER 2

SPRING, 1961

ROMANCE NOTES

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VOLUME II, NUMBER 2

SPRING, 1961

Rafael Alberti, Gongoriste.

E. Dehennin

81

The Identification of Clarín.

John W. Kronik

87

*Notes on Scribe One-Act Comedies-Vaudevilles in Spain
1820-1850.*

Marilyn Lamond

89

Bartolomé Felipe's Tratado del Consejo and John Thorius.

Karl-Ludwig Selig

94

The Sources of Garcilaso's Sonnet VIII.

Elias L. Rivers

96

*An Isolated Early Mention of the Spanish Partitive
Construction with de*

Judith S. Merrill

101

Courtly Love in Gil Vicente's Don Duardos.

Thomas R. Hart, Jr.

103

Review Article: J. G. Fucilla, Petrarquismo en España.

K.-L. Selig

107

ROMANCE NOTES

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RAFAEL ALBERTI, GONGORISTE

Par E. DEHENNIN

RAFAEL ALBERTI, que l'on pourrait appeler le pur sang de la génération de 1927, a participé, on le sait sans doute, plus que tout autre de ses compagnons de jeunesse, à l'hommage rendu en 1927 par toute l'avant-garde espagnole d'alors à Góngora. C'est lui qui a dédié au plus grand poète maudit de la littérature espagnole une *Soledad tercera* que nous croyons très réussie¹. *Paráfrasis incompleta*, comme il se devait, ce fragment de quelque 132 vers n'est aucunement un pastiche et ce qui est plus, il ne se situe pas en marge de l'oeuvre proprement albertienne. Serait-ce par hasard qu'il se place au coeur même de *Cal y Canto*? Nous le croyons d'autant moins que ce recueil composite est comme le carrefour de toute la poésie non-engagée d'Alberti. Le *popularismo* si raffiné de ses oeuvres de jeunesse s'y prolonge, en se compliquant et en se teintant d'absurde, alors que la crise visionnaire, l'agôn des années suivantes, s'annonce, imminente. Ces deux tendances fondamentales s'y rencontrent sans trop se heurter autour d'un culte sincère rendu au Baroque, ce Baroque, dont Alberti, conformément à l'esprit de son époque², a renouvelé la tradition avec la maîtrise multiple qu'est la sienne.

Andalou de Cadix, Alberti, il ne faut pas l'oublier, s'est assimilé beaucoup plus intimement que Lorca la tradition livresque:

1. Cf. *Poesía (1924-1944)*, Buenos Aires, 1946, p. 100-4. C'est à cette édition que nous nous référons, chaque fois que les poèmes cités y sont repris. Nous étudions en détail la *Soledad tercera* dans un livre qui doit paraître prochainement.

2. Cf. C. Gebhardt, *Rembrandt y Spinoza*, *Revista de Occidente*, 1929, p. 307-40.

de son pays. Il a su vivre en compagnie des choses et des livres. Il ne taît d'ailleurs pas le nom de ses maîtres: Gil Vicente, les anonymes du *Cancionero* et du *Romancero*; Garcilaso, Góngora, Lope, Bécquer, Baudelaire, Juan Ramón Jiménez, A. Machado³. Voilà, à la fois, le *popularismo* et le *cultismo*, qui représentent les deux lignes de force de la littérature espagnole et qui subjuguent, en définitive, toutes les avant-gardes. Voilà aussi, si l'on préfère, le classicisme et le baroque, qui n'ordonnent cependant pas avec le même ascendant la littérature espagnole.

S'il nous semble très normal, dans ces conditions, qu'Alberti ait obtenu en 1925, avec son premier recueil, *Marinero en Tierra*, le prix national de littérature, il nous paraît néanmoins douteux qu'il ait eu des rapports étroits avec un créationnisme qui est à son déclin au moment où lui commence à écrire. Bien que nous n'ayons nullement l'intention de minimiser les apports du créationnisme, tel qu'on le retrouve dans l'oeuvre de Huidobro ou de Diego, au renouveau et surtout à la purification de la poésie des années 20, nous croyons que A. de Undurruga exagère quand il retrouve des traces créationnistes non seulement dans l'oeuvre d'Alberti mais encore dans celle de Lorca⁴.

A propos de Rafael Alberti, il trouve jusque dans la *Soledad tercera* "una rara mixtura de gongorismo y creacionismo que huele a flor de sarcófago" et il cite ces vers:

De cometa, la cola
celeste y trasatlántica, cosida
al hombro por un ártico lucero;
mitra en la almena de su frente sola; (p. 100)

C'est en ces termes que le poète suggère le vent, le grand maître du paysage. Comme chez Góngora, croyons-nous, mais plus que chez, lui, l'ambiguïté est faite d'un alliage d'éléments cosmiques, consolidé par des verbes très concrets. Il semble que ni les hommes ni les choses ne sont rien en soi, et que seulement de leur interpénétration étrange peut naître une vie nouvelle, à la fois transréelle et substantiellement concrète. C'est là un aspect de l'unité magnifiée à laquelle le Baroque aspire et que l'on retrouve

3. Cf. G. Diego, *Poesía española contemporánea (1901-1934)*, Madrid, 1959, p. 447.

4. Cf. V. Huidobro, *Poesía y prosa (Antología)*, Madrid, 1957, p. 98-107.

chez Góngora sous des formes très variées, notamment dans ces vers:

y -sierpe de cristal- juntar le impide
la cabeza, del Norte coronada,
con la que ilustra el Sur, cola escamada
de antárticas. (Sol., I, v. 426-29)⁵

Par ces images Góngora recrée l'isthme de Panama: il le déréalise et le gonfle d'une vie fictive, certes, mais cosmique et sensible. Peu importe que pour obtenir une telle transformation Góngora se serve d'images "empequeñecedoras", dont Pedro de Valencia a critiqué le principe! Ce sage humaniste a beau préconiser avec Demetrio les métaphores qui grandissent, préférer, par exemple, *tronó la trompeta à trompeteo el cielo*⁶ dans mainte image gongorique, et chose curieuse, dans la plupart des expressions dites créationnistes, que Undurraga a retrouvées chez Alberti et chez Lorca, la "réduction" métaphorique opère toute la métamorphose poétique.

Mais qu'entendre par métaphore créationniste? Toujours d'après Undurraga ce sont des images "[que] no calcan ni imitan bellament a la Naturaleza, [que] inventan . . . forjan mundos poéticos. [que] No proceden, como en caso de Góngora, mediante sustituciones de un objecto por otro procedimiento que, al fin y al cabo, no es otro sino que el de la mimesis o bella imitación de la Naturaleza, aconsejado por Aristóteles"⁷. Là le critique est allé au coeur du problème. Il y a entre Góngora et les créationnistes, tout comme entre Góngora et Alberti, un écart de trois siècles: Góngora ne trahit le principe de la mimesis qu'aux moments de l'exultation extrême, alors que les créationnistes, plus que les poètes post-crétionnistes, il est vrai, cherchent constamment et délibérément à déroger à sa loi. Leurs techniques métaphoriques sont des plus sensibles à cet écart: on a l'impression qu'elles se relayent. Ceci n'empêche toutefois pas qu'elles aillent toutes dans la même voie de la déréalisation: une déréalisation qui est prudente et raisonnée là, audacieuse ici, parfois jusque dans l'absurde, et qui, en outre, se justifie différemment chez chaque poète.

5. Nous citons Góngora d'après l'édition courante de J. et I. Millé y Gimenez, Madrid, 1951.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1074-5.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

Voyons ces vers de *Cal y Canto*, qualifiés de créationnistes par Undurraga:

¡Qué ajena tú, mi corazón cosiendo
al delantal de las riberas solas,
con tu mastín al lado, pensativa! (p. 78)

Voilà alors que l'aube marine pointe sur les falaises, la nuit vaincue, dont le poète a suivi amoureusement l'échappée sanglante et qui, distante, reste sérénité et réflexion. Voilà aussi une cellule métaphorique dont le noyau, tout de concrétion familière, se différencie du "protoplasme" qui unit en sa substance un élément de la nature à un élément de l'anatomie humaine. En effet, autour du verbe atemporel et ultra-concret (b) gravite un complément direct (a), fort hétéroclite, qui est comme "chosifié", et un complément indirect qui est un syntagme déterminatif coin-nosite (b de a) et qui, tout en circonstanciant le verbe, renoue habilement avec le sujet, pris à la nature (*riberas*).

En comparaison, les exemples gongoriques sont très simples:

Quien cosiera sus desdenes
con cien puntos en su cara

lit-on dans un poème mineur et, dans son oeuvre maîtresse:

. . . del batel, cosido con la playa, (Sol., II, v. 939)

Le noyau imagé est efficace mais simple et son "protoplasme" est uniforme, affectif là, naturel ici, un peu comme dans le premier exemple de Rafael Alberti que nous avons cité et qui, ne l'oublions pas, devait s'inscrire dans la tradition de Góngora.

Il ne faudrait cependant pas croire que toutes les métaphores gongoriques sont aussi simples: elles tendent très souvent –et il suffit de lire les imprécations anti-gongoriques pour en savoir quelque chose– vers une complication savante. Mais cette complication est ce qu'il y a de plus personnel à l'auteur et les poètes de 1927 ne pouvaient pas songer à l'imiter. Ils s'en sont tenu à leur propre vision créatrice.

N'empêche qu'on trouve chez Góngora les mêmes types de "choc imagé" que R. Alberti a exploités plus haut et qu'il a su faire siens. A propos de pierres délabrées ne lit-on pas chez le poète maudit: *visten piadosas yedras* (Sol., I, v. 219), à propos de peupliers, *trenzándose el cabello verde* (ibid., v. 661) à propos du printemps, *calzada abril y vestida mayo* (ibid., v. 577)?

La fonction de ces verbes-images, experiment plutôt un état qu'une action, ne saurait faire de doute: ils sauvegardent plus que la dimension humaine, qui est déréalisée comme le reste, la présence humaine la plus immanente. Quoiqu'on ait pu dire, Gongora n'a pas donné l'exemple de la "deshumanización", que l'on pourrait inscrire sur un certain art créationniste et à laquelle Alberti n'a pas participé. Ils aiment trop la vie, la vie des sens, nos poètes!

Les exemples de syntagmes déterminatifs du type b de a ne manquent pas non plus. Citons un peu au hasard: *verde balcón del agradable risco* (Sol., I, v. 193), *la oficina undosa de esta playa* (Sol., II, v. 586), *el papel diáfano del cielo* (Sol., I, v. 610), *el sudor de los cielos* (Sol., II, v. 296) où entre les choses de la vie quotidienne et la nature, tant immédiate que cosmique, se tissent des liens d'une dépendance insoupçonnée, qui ne se veut toutefois pas révélatrice.

S'il y a donc des rapports réels et voulus entre Alberti et Góngora, il faut aussi s'interroger sur leur nature profonde.

Nous ne croyons pas à une influence directe: elle est très rare entre poètes de cette taille.

Peut-être existe-t-il entre eux une parenté de terroir, une familiarité andalouse, dont Lorca a parlé avec tant de doigté⁸? On retrouve, en effet, dans les oeuvres de jeunesse -et donc pré-gongoriques- d'Alberti des vers qui, s'ils ne sont pas marqués par Gongora, auraient fort bien pu l'être. Nous songeons à "sable azul del río"⁹, où, pour autant qu'on puisse encore distinguer déterminant et déterminé, le déterminé métaphorique supplante et embellit visuellement le déterminant de base, qui est relégué à l'arrière-plan conceptuel, mais non anéanti (cf. Sol. I, v. 598, *sierpes de cristal* pour rios). Et surtout à

¡Quién cabalgara el caballo
de espuma azul de la mar! (p. 24)

N'est-ce pas une variante de la locution "buey de agua"¹⁰ que

8. Cf. *La imagen poética en Góngora, Obras completas*, Madrid, 1955, p. 66.

9. Cf. *Marinero en tierra, Marin à terre*, Paris, Seghers, 1957, p. 12.

10. Que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs élaborée et recréée dans un passage comme:

Boyereros del mar decían:
-Bueyes rojos, raudas sombras
y oscuro, ¡hacia donde irían? (p. 14)

Lorca a entendu dire par des paysans pour exprimer "le volume, la combativité et la force" de l'eau¹¹ et qui répond à une manière de voir très proche de Góngora? Le procédé d'imagination est le même, mais Alberti a compliqué la métaphore, en la renforçant par le verbe et en la troublant à l'aide d'une hypallage -ce qui ne serait pas non plus pour déplaire à Gongora qui aime parler, par exemple, de "espuma verde" (*Sol.*, II, v. 25).

Vision de microscope¹², dira Lorca, vision méditerranéenne, pourrait-on ajouter avec Ortega y Gasset¹³. Les images des poètes du Sud sont "fulgurantes comme des pierres précieuses," elles sont "de simples visions sans transcendance où le poète a reteru la nature fugitive d'une couleur, d'un paysage"¹⁴, d'un objet quelconque; elles n'entendent pas créer de nouveaux mondes: elles n'ouvrent pas de visions créationnistes, comme chez Huidobro, pour qui "Las estrellas/ que caían/ eran luciérnagas del musgo" (p. 242).

Citons pour terminer ce dernier exemple d'Alberti: "¡Sábana azul, con embozo/ de espumas blancas y amenas!"¹⁵; opposons-lui cette vision marine de Góngora: "besando las que al Sol el Occidente/ le corre en lecho azul de aguas marinas/ turquesadas cortinas". (*Sol.*, I, v. 416-18) et l'on comprendra les paroles toujours si éclairées de Pedro Salinas: l'oeuvre d'Alberti "no es producto de la influencia gongorina; es tradición, tradición de Góngora . . . Pero toda tradición viva, la única verdadera. . . suele, paradójicamente, parecer revolucionaria"¹⁶. Grande tradition méditerranéenne aussi, voire tradition baroque, mais ce point reste à développer.

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 70: "su sensibilidad le puso un microscopio en las pupilas" écrit très justement Lorca.

13. Cf. *Meditaciones sobre El Quijote, Obras completas*, I, p. 341.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

15. Cf. *La Amante*, Buenos Aires, 1946, p. 47.

16. Cf. *Literatura española, Siglo XX*, Mexico, 1949, p. 196.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF *CLARIN*

By JOHN W. KRONIK

DESPITE THE past publication of erroneous dates, it is now generally known when *Clarín*, the pseudonym that was to become the trademark of one of the most prominent figures of Spanish letters at the end of the last century, first appeared in print. However, it has not been pointed out when the identity of *Clarín* was initially revealed to the reading public.

Leopoldo Alas, then twenty-three years old and a student in Madrid, became one of the regular contributors to the satirical newspaper *El Solfeo* when it was founded by Antonio Sánchez Pérez. In the sixth issue of *El Solfeo*, dated April 11, 1875, a thirty-seven line jocose political commentary in verse entitled "¡Piano!" bears the signature *Clarín* for the first time. In the following issues (No. 7 of April 18, 1875 excepted), the name is appended to three contributions in prose and four in verse. Then, in *El Solfeo*, No. 15, June 13, 1875, a brief article entitled "Los Pentacrósticos" is signed "Leopoldo Alas," and on the same page of this issue, in a section of "Notas," there appears the following explanation:

Anteayer salió de Madrid, con dirección á Oviedo, nuestro querido amigo y distinguido compañero *Clarín*.

Su ausencia no privará a los lectores de *El Solfeo* del trabajo de este asíduo y discreto colaborador.

Desde allí nos remitirá sabrosas y chispeantes correspondencias, que aparecerán en todos los números.

Y, aprovechando esta circunstancia, vamos á dar un chasco pesado a la modestia de nuestro compañero, declarando *urbi et orbi* que bajo el pseudónimo *Clarín* se oculta un joven escritor, cuyo verdadero nombre es Leopoldo Alas.

Con este nombre firmaremos en adelante sus trabajos.

¡Como se va a enfadar cuando lo sepa!

Whether or not Alas knew in advance of this change in by-line and whether he was pleased or truly angered by it are matters of conjecture. The fact remains that subsequent issues of *El Solfeo* (not all of which contained contributions by Alas, as prom-

ised) printed articles dated in Oviedo and signed with the full name of Leopoldo Alas or with his initials.¹

As a result of unanticipated success, *El Solfeo*, previously published every Sunday, became a daily as of October 1, 1875, and in the issue of the following day (No. 32), at the foot of three columns of verse entitled "Azotacalles de Madrid," the signature *Clarín* appears once again.² Thereafter, Alas still used his initials a few times, as well as the pseudonym *Clarín* and occasionally even other pseudonyms (Zoilito, for example), to identify his work in *El Solfeo*; but *Clarín* soon became the signature on which he relied almost exclusively and by which he was ultimately best known. By this time, however, the pen name no longer involved a riddle, for the brief notice in the June 13, 1875 issue of *El Solfeo* had served to reveal the identity of *Clarín*. Alas thus had remained shrouded in mystery for a period of only two months. In the future not only his friends and colleagues but also the readers of *El Solfeo* and of the many other newspapers to which he later contributed were able to associate the man with his widely known pseudonym.

HAMILTON COLLEGE

1. An article signed "La" had been published earlier in the first numbered issue of *El Solfeo* (March 7, 1875).

2. The fact that Alas, now back in the capital, begins with the lines "Voy a inaugurar en verso / mis revistas de Madrid . . ." probably misled his biographer, Juan Antonio Cabezas, into the error of establishing this date—October 2, 1875—as the occasion when Alas first used his pseudonym ("*Clarín*", *el provinciano universal* [Madrid, 1936], p. 78). Cabezas also indicates July 5 as the beginning of Alas' association with *El Solfeo*, while in actuality Alas belonged to the paper's editorial staff from the time of its founding in February 1875. More recently, Marino Gómez-Santos has perpetuated the incorrect October date (Leopoldo Alas "*Clarín*". *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico* [Oviedo, 1952], p. 15), but other students of *Clarín* have been more accurate (e.g., José María Martínez Cachero, "Los versos de Leopoldo Alas," *Archivum*, II [1952], 96).

NOTES ON SCRIBE'S 'ONE-ACT' COMEDIES- VAUDEVILLES IN SPAIN 1820-1850

By MARILYN LAMOND

EUGÈNE SCRIBE first displayed and exercised his technical skill in the *comédie-vaudeville* for which he practically invented a new form by making it a canvas for a light sketching of manners. Although the *comédie-vaudeville* had been considered an inferior genre, it was usually rapid in action, farcical in plot, and gay. It was Scribe, then, who rejuvenated this genre and once more brought it before the public. As he wanted to please and to attract his audiences, this dramatic form became his forte. Scribe earned the reputation as a foremost writer of his time of the *comédie-vaudeville* because of his ability in concocting new and stirring combinations and his sense of perspective and of dramatic values.

Spain during the years 1820 to 1850 had restored her theater from the doldrums of the previous century. She was now offering to her audiences romantic dramas, *refundiciones* from her Golden Age, the Italian opera and translations and adaptations from the French theater.

Since the French audiences were so delighted by these farcical comedies of Eugène Scribe, would they not appeal to the Spanish? Certainly the *vaudevilles* were melodramatic in tone, and this definitely fell in with the taste of the Romantic movement in Spain which was now in progress.

The one-act *comédies-vaudevilles* of Scribe date from the years 1819 to 1847 in France and 1820 to 1850 through the efforts of the translators and adapters in Spain. Nineteen plays fall into this classification.¹ Twelve authors are represented and of these, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch is accredited with having adapted four, Antonio García Gutiérrez, three, and José Mariano de Larra and Ramón de Navarrete, two each. Thus, one notes that the outstanding Romanticists dominate this particular genre.

1. These plays are listed at the end of this article. The French play is given first followed by the theater in which it was first presented and the date. The same information is given for the Spanish plays.

It is interesting to compare a Spanish adaptation with its French original. Of the less complicated plays, the author has chosen *Los dos maridos*, a translation by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. This one-act prose comedy was taken from Scribe and Varner's *Les deux maris* which first appeared at the Théâtre des Variétés on February 3, 1819 and was presented on October 17, 1829 at the Théâtre de la Comédie under the new title of *Monsieur Rigaud*.² The Hartzenbusch translation was first performed in Madrid on April 28, 1847 and on April 29, 30, May 3 and May 25 of the same year.³ Lalama published the play in 1848.

Elise was married while still in school to M. de Sénange who left her immediately after the wedding. She is upset now because she has received a letter from a friend to the effect that her husband in disguise will arrive shortly at the *château* so that he can study her more closely. Thereupon, Elise decides to pass herself off as a friend of the mistress of the house.

A traveler named Rigaud happens by and asks for lodging, and Gertrude, Elise's servant, mistaking him for the husband, tells him of the part Elise is playing and recognizes him as the master of the household. Rigaud is happy with this arrangement until Sénange appears with Mme. Rigaud, who, hearing that her husband passes himself off as the man of the house, acts the part of Sénange's wife. Elise and Sénange become interested in each other, and all are happy when it is established that they really are man and wife.

Now let us study the changes in this play. First of all one notes the complete hispanization of the names of the characters: M. de Sénange becomes Don Luis de Pedraza; Rigaud, Zorbaquín; Labrie, Elise's servant, is Andrés; Elise, the heroine, is Doña Elena; Mme. Rigaud is called Cirila; and Gertrude, Mónica. Likewise we find a difference in setting; the French play takes place in a *château* in Touraine whereas Hartzenbusch transports the characters to a *cortijo*, a short distance from Sevilla. The original contains twenty-five scenes, and the translation, twenty-four. Hartzenbusch combines the French scenes XXII and XXIII into the Spanish scene XXII without tampering with the translation nor the transition. In speaking of Elise's age, Scribe states she is twenty, and Hartzenbusch changes this to twenty-one. Even though these changes may seem slight, they do need to be noted because Hartzenbusch's translation takes on an entirely

2. Eugène Scribe en société avec Varner, *Les deux Maris* in *Bibliothèque dramatique* (Paris, n.d.), p. 146.

3. Anthony Sylvain Corbière, *Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch and Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 43.

Spanish atmosphere which would undoubtedly endear it more to the Spanish audience.

The twelve Spanish translators and or adapters of the Scribe one-act *comédies-vaudevilles* frequently changed the French originals to suit the tastes of the Spanish theater. The change of setting was not unusual; the Spanish versions were often set in Spain if the French original had been located in France. However, if the original setting was not in France, the Spanish dramatist would not alter the location. Four examples of this are: *El vampiro* of Antonio García Gutiérrez follows the Scribe play and is set in Hungary; *El cuáquero y la cómica* of García Gutiérrez follows the original and is laid in England; Julián Romea's *El soprano* keeps the Rome setting, and *La protegida sin saberlo* of Luis Olona maintains the Scribe setting of London. Whether it be Hungary, London or Rome, the Spanish playwrights seemed to consider these settings universal enough to appeal to Spanish audiences. The other settings were undoubtedly hispanized to create more interest in the translators' country. One likewise notes hispanization of the characters' names. Again, the same device for Spanish appeal is seen.

Three of these plays give the names of the Spanish actors who played the roles. These are: Angel Iznardi's *Un tío en Indias*, *Genoveva o los celos paternos* and *La pena de talión*, both by Ramón de Navarrete. All these performers were outstanding, and they included Matilde Díaz (she appeared in all three productions), Florencio Romea (appeared in two productions), Carlos Latorre, and Teodora Lamadrid. Surely these professionals would not appear consistently in second-rate theatrical productions. They were Spain's best representatives of this medium.

Of course the Scribe plays were interspersed with lively songs. These songs were most frequently rendered into good Spanish prose by the adapters. However, if the French songs lent little or nothing to the play, they were omitted.

Two plays, García Gutiérrez's *Estela o el padre y la hija* and *La protegida sin saberlo* of Luis Olona were put into two acts. Why this division, one cannot say for the basic plots remain the same in the Spanish versions.

All nineteen of these plays are witty in dialogue and are complicated enough to hold an audience. Yet these sprightly pieces are delightfully untangled. Through careful and thoughtful

translation, the Spanish authors brought the Scribe delights to the theater. Through minor changes in settings, hispanization of character names and frequent performances by Spain's foremost actors, Eugène Scribe was represented in Spain.

The phenomenal vogue of the ingenious and inexhaustible Scribe is satirized again and again. Larra so adroitly points out.

¿Qué se da en el teatro? dice uno.—Aquí (1) sinfonía; (2) *pieza del célebre Scribe*; (3) sinfonía; (4) *pieza nueva del segundo Scribe*; (5) sinfonía; (6) baile nacional; (7) *La comedia nueva en dos actos, traducida también del ingenioso Scribe*: . . .⁴

Again it is Larra who describes the popularity of Scribe in:

Mantenga usted un corresponsal en París y cada correo una comedia de Scribe, que aquí las reciben con los brazos abiertos.⁵

APPENDIX

Chronological listings of the Scribe plays and their Spanish translations or adaptations according to the first presentation of the Spanish work.

- I. *Caroline* (Scribe and Menissier), Théâtre du Vaudeville, March 15, 1819, reprise, Théâtre du Gymnase, December 30, 1820. *Carolina o el Talento a prueba* (Bretón de los Herreros), Teatro de la Cruz, April 24, 1834.
- II. *La Grande aventure* (Scribe and Varner), Théâtre du Gymnase, November 2, 1932. *Retascón, barbero y comadrón* (Ventura de la Vega), Teatro de la Cruz, October 10, 1834. This translation enjoyed the greatest number of performances of the twenty-five translations and adaptations made by Vega.⁶
- III. *Etre Aimé ou mourir* (Scribe and Dumanoir), Théâtre du Gymnase, March 10, 1835. *Tu amor, o la muerte* (Mariano José de Larra) under the pseudonym of Ramón Arriala, published 1843 by Yenes.
- IV. *Le Vampire* (Scribe and Mélesville), Théâtre du Vaudeville, June 15, 1820. *El vampiro* (Antonio García Gutiérrez), Madrid, 1834.
- V. *Le Quaker et la danseuse* (Scribe and Duport), Théâtre du Gymnase, March 28, 1831. *El cuáquero y la cómica* (Antonio García Gutiérrez), Madrid, 1835.
- VI. *L'Oncle d'Amérique* (Scribe and Mazier), Théâtre de S. A. R., March 14, 1826. *Un tío en Indias* (Angel Iznardi), published by Repullés.

4. Mariano José de Larra, "La Vida de Madrid," *Obras completas de Figaro* (Paris, 1883), I, 482.

5. Larra, "Don Cándido Buenafé," *Obras completas de Figaro* (Paris, 1883), I, 355.

6. John Kenneth Leslie, *Ventura de la Vega and the Spanish Theatre, 1820-1865* (Princeton, 1940), p. 109.

- VII. *La Chanoinesse* (Scribe and Francis-Cornu), Théâtre du Gymnase, December 31, 1833. *Soltera, viuda y casada* (Isidoro Gil), 1836.
- VIII. *Le Soprano* (Scribe and Mélesville), Théâtre du Gymnase, November 30, 1831. *El soprano* (Julián Romea), Madrid, 1837.
- IX. *La Famille Riquebourg ou le mariage mal assorti* (Scribe) Théâtre du Gymnase, January 4, 1831. *Partir a tiempo* (Mariano José de Larra), Madrid, 1839.
- X. *Estelle ou le Père et la fille* (Scribe), Théâtre du Gymnase, November 7, 1834. *Estela o el padre y la hija* (García Gutiérrez), 1839.
- XI. *Le bon Papa ou la proposition de mariage* (Scribe and Mélesville), Théâtre du Gymnase, December 2, 1832. *El abuelito* (Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch), Teatro de Variedades, June 3, 1847, published 1842.
- XII. *La Volière de Frère Philippe* (Scribe), Théâtre du Vaudeville, June 15, 1818. *Las Batuecas* (Hartzenbusch), indebted for 15 of the 39 scenes in the last 4 cuadros of his comedy, 1843.
- XIII. *Geneviève ou la jalousie paternelle* (Scribe), Théâtre du Gymnase, March 30, 1846. *Genoveva o los celos paternales* (Ramón de Navarrete), Teatro del Príncipe, May 12, 1846, printed 1846 by Repullés.
- XIV. *Les Empiriques d'autrefois* (Scribe and Alexandre), Théâtre de S. A. R. Madame, June 11, 1825. *El doctor Capirote o los curanderos de antaño* (Hartzenbusch), Teatro de Variedades, December 24, 1846.
- XV. *Les deux maris* (Scribe and Varner), Théâtre des Variétés, February 3, 1819, reprise *Monsieur Rigaud*, Théâtre de la Comédie, October 17, 1839. *Los dos maridos* (Hartzenbusch), April 28, 1847, published by Lalama 1848.
- XVI. *Une Femme qui, se jette par la Fenêtre* (Scribe and Lemoine), Théâtre du Gymnase, April 19, 1847. *La pena de talión* (Ramón de Navarrete), Teatro del Príncipe, June 1, 1847, printed by Cipriano López 1856.
- XVII. *La Protégée sans le savoir* (Scribe), Théâtre du Gymnase, December 5, 1846. *La protegida sin saberlo* (Luis Olona), Teatro del Instituto, July 24, 1847, printed by Lalama 1847.
- XVIII. *L'Ours et le pasha* (Scribe and Saintine), Théâtre des Variétés, February 10, 1820. *El oso blanco y el oso negro* (Juan del Peral), Teatro del Instituto, December 2, 1848, printed by Lalama 1849.
- XIX. *Le Médecin de dames* (Scribe and Mélesville), Théâtre du Gymnase, December 17, 1825. *El doctorcito* (Ramón de Valladares y Saavedra), Teatro de la Comedia (Instituto), 1850.

BARTOLOMÉ FELIPE'S *TRATADO DEL CONSEJO* AND JOHN THORIUS

By KARL-LUDWIG SELIG

AMONG THE important sixteenth-century Spanish treatises on statecraft, works usually classified under the subject and theme *de regimine principum*, we find Bartolomé Felipe's *Tratado del consejo y de los consejeros de los principes*, Coimbra, 1584.¹ This work had a considerable vogue in England, where it was translated by John Thorius. Thorius was a student at Oxford, and is known to have translated two other Spanish works into English: Corro's *Reglas gramaticales* and a treatise by Francisco de Valdés, *The Sergeant-Major*.² Thorius' copy of Felipe's *Tratado* is extant in the British Museum and bears some interesting marginalia and annotations. The majority of these annotations are concerned with matters of vocabulary and often the Latin equivalent of a Spanish word is given. It may be of interest to study the marginalia in detail, for they may shed some interesting light on Thorius as a translator and on his procedure. This note is merely designed to call attention to the existence of the autograph copy. We reproduce the title page.

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1. Second edition: Turino [London], 1589; English translation: *The Counsellor: a Treatise of Counsels and Counsellors of Princes* . . . English by I. T. Graduate in Oxford, London, 1589; for eds., see Palau, 2. ed., V, 278-79. For Felipe, consult the standard work by Maravall and also Juan Beneyio Pérez, *Historia de las doctrinas políticas*, (Madrid, 1950), 276, 338.

2. Consult D.N.B., XIX, 764; J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors* (New York, 1899), 191, 195-96; I find nothing in Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (London, 1905); Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern, 1956), 65-66; see also Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1905), 105-06.

TRACTADO DEL CONSEJO Y

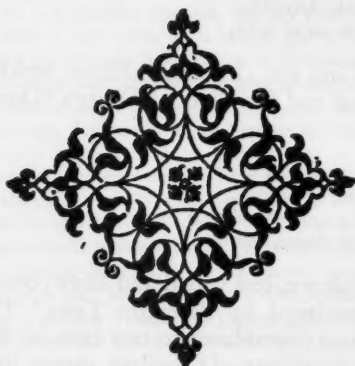
de los Consejeros de los
Principes.

Compuesto por el Doctor Bartolome
Felippe:

Dirigido al muy alto y serenissimo Señor Cardenal Alberto
Legado y Archiduque de Austria.

Segunda Impression.

*Joannes Thonius
hunc librum per se
a se lectum coram
Reverendissimo. Anol
canum per. 22. 1689.
die 8. 1689.
Imp. Jo. Thonius.*



TVRINO

Impresso en casa de Gio: uincenzo del Permette

Con licencia de los Superiores. 1589.

THE SOURCES OF GARCILASO'S SONNET VIII

By ELIAS L. RIVERS

De aquella vista pura y excelente
salen espíritus bivos y encendidos,
y siendo por mis ojos recibidos,
me pasan hasta donde el mal se siente;
encuétrase el camino fácilmente
por do los mios, de tal calor movidos,
salen fuera de mí como perdidos,
llamados d'aquel bien que 'stá presente.

Ausente, en la memoria la imagino;
mis espíritus, pensando que la vían,
se mueven y se encienden sin medida,
mas no hallando fácil el camino,
que los suyos entrando derretían,
rebientan por salir do no ay salida.¹

Flamini in 1899 pointed out the clear resemblance between the first quatrain of this sonnet and four lines of Dante's "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore":

De li occhi suoi, come ch'ella li mova,
Escono spirti d'amore inflammati,
Che feron li occhi a qual che allor la guati,
E passan sì che'l cor ciascun ritrova . . .

Mele has since noted a coincidence, less verbal and more conceptual in character, with a madrigal by Bernardo Tasso.² This "source," like the even vaguer resemblance to two lines of Navagero noted by Keniston in his edition of Garcilaso, proves little more than that the sonnet begins with a *topos* familiar to all readers of medieval and Renaissance love poetry: the flaming arrows or rays which pass from the lady's eyes through the eyes

1. I follow the text of the first edition (Barcelona, 1543), emending only line 5 ("encuentrase *en* el camino fácilmente"), which has been variously emended in subsequent editions. The word "espíritus," as elsewhere in Garcilaso, must be read as having only three syllables (cf. Italian *spirti*); "mios" in line 6 is likewise normally monosyllabic in Garcilaso.

2. See E. Mele, "Las poesías latinas de Garcilaso de la Vega y su permanencia en Italia," *BH*, XXVI (1924), 35-36 (note 5).

and into the heart of the lover, where they awaken an appropriate response. Yet the sonnet as a whole goes beyond this commonplace: according to Lapesa's paraphrase, "En presencia de la amada, los 'espíritus' procedentes de ella inflaman y abren el camino a los que salen del amante; pero, en la ausencia, éstos, encendidos por el recuerdo, no encuentran vía franca y 'revientan por salir do no hay salida.'"³

The direct source of this whole idea, although no one so far as I know has previously pointed it out, is obviously the following passage from Bembo's famous speech in Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (Book IV, sections 65-66 or chapter 7):⁴

... el estar ausente de la que amáis no puede sino afligir mucho, porque aquel penetrar o influir que hace la hermosura, siendo presente, es causa de un extraño y maravilloso deleite en el enamorado, y callentándole el corazón, despierta y derrite algunos sentimientos o fuerzas que están adormidas y heladas en el alma, las cuales, criadas y mantenidas por el calor que del amor les viene, se estienden y retoñecen y andan como bullendo al derredor del corazón, y envían fuera por los ojos aquellos espíritus, que son unos delgadísimos vapores hechos de la más pura y clara parte de la sangre que se halle en nuestro cuerpo, los cuales reciben en sí luego la imagen de la hermosura . . . Así que el enamorado que contempla la hermosura solamente en el cuerpo, pierde este bien luego a la hora que aquella mujer a quien ama, yéndose de donde él está presente, le dexa como ciego, dexándole con los ojos sin su luz, y, por consiguiente, con el alma despojada y huérfana de su bien; y esto ha de ser así forzosamente, porque estando la hermosura ausente, aquel penetrar y influir que hemos dicho del amor, no calienta el corazón como hacía estando ella presente, y así aquellas vías por donde los espíritus y los amores van y vienen quedan entonces agotadas y secas, aunque todavía la memoria que queda de la hermosura mueve algo los sentimientos y fuerzas del alma. Y de tal manera los mueve, que andan por estender y enviar a su gozo los espíritus; mas ellos, hallando los pasos cerrados, hállanse sin salida y porfían cuanto más pueden por salir, y así encerrados no hacen sino dar mil espoladas al alma, y con sus aguijones desasosíéganla y apasionanla gravemente . . .

It is impossible to say definitely whether Garcilaso, in writing Sonnet VIII, was more immediately influenced by the Italian original or by Boscán's Castilian version. *The editio princeps* of the *Cortegiano* appeared in 1528; Garcilaso may well have first read it during his 1529-30 trip to Italy, though possibly he had already seen it circulating in manuscript at the court of Charles V, where Castiglione had been papal nuncio since March of 1525.

3. R. Lapesa, *La trayectoria poética de Garcilaso* (Madrid, 1948), p. 154.

4. I quote from the 1942 edition (pp. 387-388) of Boscán's translation.

From the dedicatory letters written by Boscán and Garcilaso we may deduce the following sequence of events, culminating in the publication of the first Spanish edition in April of 1534. Shortly after returning to Italy toward the end of 1532, Garcilaso had sent a copy of the *Cortegiano* to his friend Boscán in Barcelona; there Boscán's wife, Doña Jerónima de Palou (Gerónima Palova de Almogávar), had encouraged him to translate it; in the spring of 1533, while in Barcelona, Garcilaso admired Boscán's rough draft of a partial translation, urged him to complete it as soon as possible for publication, and helped him polish up a final version. In August of 1533 Juan Boscán and his cousin Juan Almagáver signed a contract with two booksellers for a first printing of 600 copies;⁵ an imperial copyright was granted in December; and the book was printed by April of the following year.

According to Garcilaso, Boscán's version made him forget the Italian original: ". . . siendo a mi parecer tan dificultosa cosa traducir bien un libro como hacelle de nuevo, dióse Boscán en esto tan buena maña que cada vez que me pongo a leer este su libro . . . , no me parece que le haya escrito en otra lengua. Y si alguna vez se me acuerda del que he visto y leído, luego el pensamiento se me vuelve al que tengo entre las manos." Garcilaso's sonnet and Boscán's *Cortesano* coincide, no doubt quite naturally, in translating "liquefà" as "derrite." So it is not unlikely to suppose that it was in Barcelona in the spring of 1533, reading Boscán's translation and thinking perhaps of a distant Neopolitan lady, that Garcilaso wrote his Sonnet VIII, having Dante's lines, as a starting point, somewhere in the back of his mind.

Regardless of the precise circumstances of its genesis, this sonnet, described as "fino y artificioso" by Lapesa, has a structural coherence which makes it artistically quite independent of its prose source. The inward movement of the first quatrain finds its complement in the responding ecstasy of the second, ending with the word "presente"; the sestet, beginning with the word "ausente," presents that self-contained frustration which is so typical of the early or psycho-allegorical Garcilaso. Yet our passage from the *Cortegiano*, with its own source in Ficino's Neoplatonic commentary on the *Symposium* (Oratio VI, cap. 6),

5. See M. de Riquer, *Juan Boscán y su cancionero barcelonés* (Barcelona, 1945), pp. 227-229.

provides the philosophical context within which Garcilaso's sonnet can best be understood as an integral part of his spiritual evolution.

Explaining the suffering caused by absence when one's love is, like Albanio's in the Second Eclogue,⁶ mixed with sensual desire, this rather scholastic sonnet looks back to the tortured, "amor cancioneresco" of the early Garcilaso. The passage from the *Cortegiano* describes the physical process of sense perception in terms less Platonic than Lucretian in origin; in fact Sonnet VIII is based on one of the less typical passages of Bembo's speech, a passage dominated by concepts drawn from scholastic science of the sort so influential in the style of fifteenth-century poets such as Ausias March.⁷ But, at the same time, the Neoplatonic intention of Bembo's speech as a whole suggests that refined aesthetic sensualism, without tactile desire or frustrations, which will reach its fullest expression in Garcilaso's Third Eclogue.

It is, I think, no accident that Sonnet VIII should indicate Garcilaso's growing comprehension of both the *Vita nuova* and the *Cortegiano*. In this sonnet we see only partially assimilated two different, yet not unrelated, philosophic movements which had permitted the poetic sublimation of courtly love: the *dolce stil nuovo* of the fourteenth century and the Renaissance Neoplatonism of the sixteenth. In both these movements the lady as a final object of adoration and desire tends to be subsumed into a transcendental object of love, an Idea which she symbolizes, an absolute Beauty which exists unchangeable and independent of

6. See R. O. Jones, "The Idea of Love in Garcilaso's Second Eclogue," *MLR*, XLVI (1951), 388-395; cf. his "Garcilaso, poeta del humanismo," *Clavileño*, V, No. 28 (July-August, 1954), 1-7.

7. The usual Platonic division was bipartite, simply "anima-corpus." But Ficino's psychology resembles the tripartite, "mens-anima-corpus." described by Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura*, lib. III): "Tria profecto in nobis esse videntur: anima, spiritus, atque corpus. Anima et corpus natura longe inter se diversa spiritui medio copulantur, qui vapor quidem est tenuissimus et perlucidus, per cordis calorem ex subtilissima parte sanguinis genitus . . . Animo igitur formosi hominis simulacrum conceptum semel apud se reformatumque memoriter conservanti satis esset amatum quandoque vidisse. Oculo tamen et spiritui quae veluti specula praesente corpore imagines capiunt, absente dimittunt, perpetua formosi corporis praesentia opus est, ut eius illustratione continue luceant, foveantur et oblectentur" (*Commentarium Marsilii Ficini Florentinis in Convivium Platonis de amore*, Oratio VI, cap. 6, ed. S. R. Jayne, p. 83). Cf. Albertus Magnus, *De Spiritu et Respirations, De Anima*, etc.

her physical presence. This is the philosophic premise underlying the predominantly visual and purely aesthetic level of contemplation which Bembo describes as the sort of love appropriate for his "cortesano viejo," who has learned how to abstract a universal vision of Beauty from the harmonious conjunction of concrete sights and sounds afforded him by his lady. Likewise the mature Garcilaso himself will learn to reconcile himself to the physical absence, in death, of his "amour lointain"; Lapesa's trajectory of his stylistic evolution may be associated, as R. O. Jones has indicated (see note 6), with a philosophic conversion to the humanistic Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance.

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AN ISOLATED EARLY MENTION OF THE SPANISH PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION WITH *de*

By JUDITH S. MERRILL

THE PARTITIVE construction with *de* continued to be used in Spanish, although with decreasing frequency, until at least the seventeenth century.¹ In spite of its prevalence, however, most early grammarians of the Spanish language failed to make mention of it. An examination of some twenty-five representative sixteenth and seventeenth century grammars has revealed only two cursory references to the partitive, both made by Italian grammarians of Spanish.² It is surprising that more grammarians, and especially French grammarians, did not mention this construction. Not only was it prevalent, but it was a construction whose meaning had begun to contrast sharply with that of the partitive in contemporaneous French, the native language of many of these early grammarians of Spanish.³

1. Hayward Keniston, *The Syntax of Castilian Prose, The Sixteenth Century* (Chicago, 1937), p.266, sections 20.8- 20.85.

2. A complete bibliography of these grammars will appear shortly in my article, "The Presentation of Case and Declension in Early Spanish Grammars," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

3. In the Romance languages the partitive *de* had originally been used to indicate an indefinite portion of a definite whole. In French, however, the meaning gradually shifted, and by the sixteenth century it began to assume its modern meaning; i.e. an indefinite part of an indefinite whole. Thus, for example, the meaning of *Donnez-moi du pain* had changed from *Give me some of the bread* to *Give me some bread*. Likewise, *Donnez-moi des livres* no longer meant *Give me some of the books* but *Give me some books*. In Spanish, on the other hand, *Déme del pan* and *Déme de los libros* still meant *Give me some of the bread* and *Give me some of the books* in contrast to *Déme pan* and *Déme libros*, which were used, as in Modern Spanish, to mean *Give me some bread* and *Give me some books*. For a complete history of the development of the partitive from Vulgar Latin to Modern French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian see the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Lester Beberfall, *A History of the Partitive Indefinite Construction in the Spanish Language* (University of Michigan, 1952). V. esp. p.53 ff. for a treatment of the intermediate position which the Italian partitive occupies with respect to the meaning of the partitive in Modern French and Spanish.

The earliest reference to the Spanish partitive *de* occurs in the *Osservazioni della lingua castigliana* by Giovanni Miranda, published in Venice in 1567:

Avvertiscasi, che in Spagnolo queste voci Unos, e Unas, non significano distinzione dal numero dua, nè tre, ma hanno l'istesso senso, que in Toscano queste voci, Certi, e Certe quando però Certi, e Certe, non importano certeza alcuna, ma un certo numero indeterminato, Come [1] *Vimieron unos hombres, y Tomaron de la mano unas mugeres, y los unos, y los otros se fueron à pasear*. Vennero certi huomini, e pigliarono per la mano certe donne, e tutti se n'andaràn insieme à passeggiare. . . . Usano similmente i Castigliani queste voci, Unos y otros in luogo del maschio, e Unas y otras, in luogo della femminina, & in cambio di Unos, e Unas, soglion dire, *Dellos*, per il Maschio, e *Dellas*, per la femminina, che in Italiano diciamo, Alcuni, e alcune di loro così [2] *De los que estavan en casa, DELLOS se fueron, y DELLOS se quedaron*. Di quelli che erano, ò stavano in casa, alcuni di loro se n'andarono, & alcuni altri rimasero. [3] *En aquel combite DELLOS se emborracharon, y DELLOS quedaron dormidas*. In quel banchetto, alcuni di loro s'imbriacarono, & alcune altre rimasero addormentate. Questo ancora è comune, & elegante modo di parlare in Castigliano così, [4] *Que hombres son los Florentinos? DELLOS ay buenos, y DELLOS ruynes*. Che huomini sono i Fiorentini? Ce ne sono de' buoni, e de' cattivi (p.42 ff.).⁴

The examples used by Miranda show clearly the meaning of the partitive construction with *de* in Spanish. In the first example *los unos* and *los otros* represent indefinite portions of *indefinite* wholes. In each of the following examples, on the other hand, *dellos* and *dellas* are used to represent indefinite portions of *definite* wholes: the people who were at home, the people at the banquet, and the Florentines.

Thus, these examples corroborate the fact that in the sixteenth century Spanish still used the partitive construction with *de*. They show also that this construction, like its Vulgar Latin source, still indicated an indefinite portion of a definite whole.⁵

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4. This discussion of the partitive was copied in part by Lorenzo Franciosini, *Grammatica spagnola e italiana* (Venice, 1624), pp. 80 & 81.

5. It is of interest to note that, although scarce, the partitive *de* still occurs in Modern Spanish and still indicates an indefinite part of a definite whole. V. M. M. Ramsay, *A Textbook of Modern Spanish*, revised by Robert K. Spaulding (New York, 1956), p.53, section 2.14.

COURTLY LOVE IN GIL VICENTE'S *DON DUARDOS*

By THOMAS R. HART, JR.

COURTLY LOVE plays an important rôle in a number of Gil Vicente's works. We might better say that it plays a number of different rôles, for Vicente treats it in a variety of ways. We cannot hope to discover the attitude of the man Gil Vicente toward the social phenomenon of courtly love which doubtless existed, in some form or other, at the court of King Manuel and, later, at that of John III. What we *can* do is examine the use Vicente makes of the literary convention of *amor cortés*, and that use, as we have already remarked, varies strikingly from play to play. In this paper, I shall attempt an analysis of one work in which courtly love plays a dominant rôle, the *Tragicomedia de Don Duardos*, doubtless the best known of Vicente's Spanish plays, thanks both to its own excellence and to D. Dámaso Alonso's splendid edition.¹ In *D. Duardos*, Vicente returns to the theme of the disguised prince which he had already explored in the *Comédia do Viuvo*.² Sr. Alonso has called attention to the "afirmación renaciente de la personalidad humana" in the play.³ Certainly Vicente is very much concerned here with something that one may call an affirmation of personality, but I am not sure that it is really a specifically Renaissance trait; both Seneca and Boethius had proclaimed that the only true nobility is that conferred by virtue, and the idea is a commonplace in medieval thought. Vicente never really questions the doctrine that love is accessible only to those of a certain social position: D. Duardos, though he may be dressed as a peasant, is nevertheless still a prince. Even Camilote, for all his grotesqueness, is a knight and a brave and skillful one. It seems clear that the gardener, Julián,

1. (Madrid, 1942). All references will be to this edition.

2. The dates of both plays are uncertain. There is some reason to believe that the *Comédia do Viuvo*, dated 1514 in the *Copilaçam* of 1562, was actually written after 1521; see I. S. Révah, "La 'comedia' dans l'oeuvre de Gil Vicente," *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*, II (1951), 1-39. I should hesitate, however, to accept Professor Révah's further suggestion that it is later than *D. Duardos*.

3. Alonso, p. 19.

whose son D. Duardos pretends to be, would have no real understanding of the latter's love for Flérída, even if he were informed of it, as, in fact, he is not; one has only to recall the arguments he uses in attempting to persuade D. Duardos to marry the peasant-girl Grímanesa. Both Flérída and Artada are sure that D. Duardos is not what he seems, at least in part because they cannot conceive that a passion like his could be felt by a peasant. Amandria acutely observes that nowadays everyone, whether noble or not, does his best to adopt courtly manners (775-799); but, of course, Amandria does not believe that the pretended Julián is really capable of feeling the emotions he talks about so eloquently.

We *do*, however, find in the play an affirmation of personality in a somewhat different sense, or, perhaps more exactly, an assertion of will. Don Duardos, unlike D. Rosvel in the *Comédia do Viúvo*, does not at once reveal his true identity to Flérída. He does not ask her to accept him for what he is, a famous knight and a prince, besides. He demands rather that she recognize and reward the unique quality, the superlative character, of his love. Paradoxically, this assertion of his own worth is combined with an assertion of his humility; like D. Rosvel in the *Comédia do Viúvo*, he will "serve" his lady in the most literal sense, as a farm laborer, abandoning his name and his true rank so that his nobility may come from her as a reward for his love.

D. Duardos demands not only that Flérída accept his love, but also that she love him in return. His courtship is, in effect, a test which Flérída must pass, just the reverse of the traditional situation in which it is the lady who sets the tests and the lover who must triumph over them. That love may demand sacrifice from the lover is, of course, nothing new; what is new, I think, is that the sacrifice must be made, not by D. Duardos, but by Flérída.

The decision D. Duardos asks Flérída to make is by no means an easy one. It is true that he finally yields a little in his demands; just before the end of the play he abandons his disguise as a peasant to seek and kill Camilote and in the final scenes he appears dressed as a prince. But his demand that Flérída go away with him, abandoning home and family, is still intact, and it is *after* this point in the action, when D. Duardos no longer appears as a peasant, that Flérída and Artada protest most strong-

ly at the harshness of the conditions he sets. Flérída, indeed, goes so far as to accuse him of deceit and selfishness:

Allegada es vuesa tema
al engaño. . . .
Queréis que pierda el amor
a mi padre y a mi señora
y al sosiego,
y a mi fama y a mi loor
y a mi bondad, que se desdora
en este fuego (1916-1926).

The reasonableness of her attitude is underscored by Artada, for whom this is a "terrible partida," a "despedida peligrosa" (1990, 1994).

D. Duardos, then, presents a test to Flérída. But he does not do so lightheartedly. If Flérída should fail the test, should be unwilling to make the sacrifice, the loss will be his as much as hers; it is simply impossible to imagine his saying, "Oh, well, if she won't have me on my terms, some other girl will." If Flérída should insist that she cannot accept him without knowing more about him, D. Duardos might conceivably relax his demands, but then Flérída will no longer be what she has been for him. There is a risk for him, too. It is this, and, of course, his very real suffering while the outcome is still unsure, that clears him of the charge of being an egotistical monster.

The play is deeply indebted to the traditional presentation of courtly love, familiar to Vicente and to his readers from the *cancioneros* and the romances of chivalry, but the traditional materials are very freely reshaped to meet the demands set by the action. In the *Comédia do Viuvo*, Vicente had juxtaposed the courtly convention with two portraits of marriage, in his presentation of the widower and of the *compadre*, and in doing so made us aware of the limitations of the convention itself, the things it neglects to mention. In the *Tragicomédia de Don Duardos*, he gives new life to the time-worn conventions of courtly love, precisely by insisting that they *are* usually conventions and then going on to show that, in this special case, we are not concerned with conventions at all but with deeply felt emotions. Thus, D. Duardos suffers all the pains of love-sickness, and even rejoices in his suffering:

Si el consuelo viene a mí,
 como a mortal enemigo
 le requiero:
 "consuelo, vete de ahí,
 no pierdas tiempo conmigo;
 ni te quiero" (881-886).

This is pure convention but made believable because we can see that D. Duardos really does suffer, not just tell his lady that he does: he speaks these lines alone at night in the *huerta*. We may remark, too, that they follow immediately Amandria's denunciation of the insincerity of lovers, in which she insists that the lover's behavior is only an act staged for the benefit of his lady; the dramatic function of the soliloquies is, I think, that they offer convincing proof of D. Duardos' sincerity. We may add that the question of sincerity in love is quite as important for Flérida as for D. Duardos. We remember that Artada, in attempting to convince Flérida that she need not give herself to the supposed Julián, lists D. Duardos himself among those who would be eager to pay court to her mistress. Flérida's answer is significant: "Julián me da la guerra por amor" (1161-1162), that is, for love and not because it is the duty of a courtier to serve (we might say, "to flirt with") all ladies.

In *D. Duardos*, with the protagonist's insistence that Flérida return his love, Vicente is, I think, much closer to our modern conception of romantic love than to the courtly tradition. It is significant that the latter play does not end with a marriage; doubtless D. Duardos *will* marry Flérida once they are safely back in England, but he does not marry her here, in Constantinople, in the presence of her parents and of the court in which she has grown up. Love thus appears, here and throughout the play, as a disruptive force, which brings two people together only at the cost of driving them apart from everyone else; it admits of no compromise, accepts no limitation on its own authority. In a society where marriages doubtless were arranged primarily for reasons of self-interest in which love played at best a very minor rôle, D. Duardos' insistence that love is not properly a social matter at all but one which involves the lovers themselves and them alone, is revolutionary, or would be if one could take it seriously, that is, if Vicente had allowed it to take place in a world more recognizably like his own, the Lisbon of the 1520's.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Fucilla, Joseph G., *Estudios sobre el Petrarquismo en España*
(Madrid, 1960)

By K.-L. SELIG

PROFESSOR J. G. FUCILLA has devoted many years of his scholarly career to the field of Hispano-Italian literary relations. He has published many articles on the subject in distinguished journals on both sides of the Atlantic, and in recent years many of his important studies have been brought together in book form: *Relaciones hispano-italianas*, Madrid, 1953 and *Studies and Notes (Literary and Historical)*, Naples-Rome, 1953. His position as an eminent comparatist is firmly established and V. Luciani in a splendidly written biographical profile has paid a warm tribute to him in the *Yearbook of Comparative Literature*, VII, 43-46. In his particular field of research the influence of Petrarch and the vogue of Petrarchism has always assumed a central position, and it may be rightfully said that the mantle of the poet-laureate has fallen on and is shared now by the scholar-laureate.

The book under consideration is the fruition of many years of devotion to the subject, beginning with the author's doctoral dissertation in 1930. Following the research and investigations of Sanvisenti and Farinelli, Professor Fucilla assembles here in one manageable, conveniently arranged, and richly documented volume the results of the previous scholarship on the subject; for not only does he synthesize his own research, but he also incorporates the results of other scholars, especially Sanvisenti, Farinelli, Schiff, Estelrich, Crawford, Mele, Rodríguez-Marín, Dámaso Alonso and Blecua among others.

Professor Fucilla's book deals essentially with the influence of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and with Petrarchism: direct and indirect imitations of Petrarch and the Petrarchist poets, and the themes, poetic conceits, and rhetorical devices usually associated with Petrarchism. In the book, Professor Fucilla runs the gamut of Spanish lyric poets from Boscán through the poets of the age of the baroque, including even some of the colonial poets, establishing the imitations and parallels with meticulous and scholarly

care. A list of the poets to whom a chapter is devoted is in order: Boscán, Garcilaso, *Cancionero General de 1554*, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Cetina, Vadillo, Acuña, Jorge de Montemayor, Ramírez Pagán, Fadrique de Toledo, Eugenio de Salazar, Diego de Fuentes, Gil Polo, Fray Luis de León, Gregorio de Silvestre, Antonio de lo Frasso, Juan de la Cueva, *Flores de Baria Poesía*, Pedro Laynez, Francisco de Figueroa, Lomas Cantoral, Fray Jayme de Torres, Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, Francisco de la Torre, Herrera, Francisco y Cosme de Aldana, Luis Barahona de Soto, Baltasar de Alcázar, Pedro de Padilla, Cervantes, López Maldonado, Los Argensolas, Quevedo, Rey de Artieda, Juan de Almeida, Covarrubias, D. D. Deliani, Enrique Garcés, Alonso López Pinciano, Alvar Gómez de Castro, Diego d'Avalos y Figueroa, Lope de Vega, Góngora, Bernardo de Balbuena, Cristóbal de Mesa, Antonio López de Vega, Jerónimo de Heredia, *Flores de Poetas Ilustres*, *Cancionero Antequerano*, Suárez de Figueroa, Francisco de Medrano, Francisco Lugo y Dávila, and Francisco de Trillo y Figueroa. At first sight such a compendium of allusions and of all imitations, direct and indirect—and considering also the important influence of the various volumes of *Rime diverse* published by Giolito—seems deceptively simple. for only a careful examination reveals what and how much has been accomplished: a trajectory of Spanish lyric poetry has been written bearing in mind a single theme and impact: Petrarchism. We have a new or renewed view of the history of Spanish lyric poetry of Golden Age, being more aware of the ever present tradition of Petrarchism.

Without intending to minimize Professor Fucilla's admirable labor, such an approach has also its limitations. In this case, as it so often happens with the so-called influence studies, both on the side of the giver and the side of the receiver, first and second rate authors receive equal attention and importance. In this case, for example, only one page is devoted to Fray Luis de León, I presume, because the author merely intended to summarize the previous research of Estelrich and Menéndez Pelayo, while many a minor poet is given a more extensive treatment. Incidentally, there are few references to the mystic poets. Similarly, the influence of Petrarchism on a particular poet is seen as an isolated phenomenon; for example, Sánchez el Brocense's indebtedness to Petrarch is not seen in any possible relationship

to a larger humanistic tradition. The same applies to the handling of certain larger philosophical, ideological, and aesthetic concepts and problems: the matter of courtly love is principally alluded to in the chapter on Quevedo; spiritualization or *Kontrafaktur* is treated only in passing (pp. 61 ff; see especially B. W. Wardropper, *Historia de la poesía lírica a lo divino en la cristiandad occidental*, Madrid, 1958, and Ulrich Leo, *Ritterepos—Gottesepos. Torquato Tassos Weg als Dichter*, Köln—Graz, 1958); the "ruins" theme, to which Professor Fucilla himself devoted a major article: "Notes sur le Sonnet *Superbi Colli. Rectificaciones y suplemento*," *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo*, XXXI, 1955, 51-93, is not developed (see also Miguel Antonio Caro, *La Canción a las Ruinas de Itálica del Licenciado Rodrigo Caro*, Bogotá, 1947); surely more could have been said about the contribution of a particular publisher, especially Giolito, and the *Rime Diverse* . . . (see Salvatore Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato*, Rome, 1890-95). Finally, while many useful parallels are established, there is little formal analysis of a particular poem. More, I believe, could also have been said about Petrarch's contribution to the development of certain poetic genre, e.g. the sonnet and the impact he and his school made to vitalize and sophisticate the form (see E. Segura Covarsí, *La canción petrarquista en la lírica española del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1949; Otto Jörder, *Die Formen des Sonetts bei Lope de Vega*, Halle, 1936; Walter Mönch, *Das Sonett. Gestalt und Geschichte*, Heidelberg, 1955). And why did not Professor Fucilla integrate his own so splendid article on "*Parole identiche* in the Sonnet and Other Verse Forms", *PMLA*, L, 1935, 372-402 and *Italica*, XXXIII, 1956, 60-68? It is indeed a tribute to Professor Fucilla's scholarship that this article is included in *Studies and Notes* and should also have been reprinted in the volume under review.

Only a long time lapse between the date of acceptance for publication and the actual date of publication can explain certain details of a bibliographical nature. For Herrera, add Macrì, the Gredos volume, and also now in *Filologia Romanza*, VI, 1-26, 151-84; for Medrano, now volume II, ed. Dámaso Alonso and S. Reckert; for Aldana, *Poesías*, ed. E. Rivers; for Lope, Eberhard Müller-Bochat, *Der allegorische Triumphzug. Ein Motiv Petrarcas bei Lope de Vega und Rubens*, Köln, 1957 (see my

review, *BHR*, XX, 483-84) as well as his *Lope de Vega und die italienische Dichtung*, Wiesbaden, 1957; for Cervantes now also G. Stagg in *Filologia Romanza*, VI, 255-76.

If I have made some reservations, I do not mean to detract from the fundamental value and importance of the book. There can be no doubt that it will remain the basic book on the subject for many years to come, and by its very richness in detail and documentation, it will be the point of departure for many other investigations on the subject.¹

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1. At the writing of this review, the following book reaches my desk—further testimony of the tradition of Petrarch in Spain: A. D. Deyermond, *The Petrarchan Sources of La Celestina*, Oxford, 1961.

TWO SONNETS ATTRIBUTED TO A. PICCOLOMINI

By JOSEPH G. FUCILLA

IN HIS *Alessandro Piccolomini: letterato e filosofo senese del Cinquecento* issued in 1960 under the joint auspices of the Accademia Senese degli Intronati of Siena and the State University of Iowa, Professor Florindo Cerreta has at last provided us with a biography that is worthy of this eminent Renaissance figure. It is a scholarly and well-written presentation based upon a considerable mass of edited and unedited data. Aside from the Siennese's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* our biographer deliberately omits any detailed discussion of his works, but he does furnish us in an appendix with a full bibliographical list of them together with a reproduction of hitherto unpublished materials, part III, A, consisting of *Rime inedite* drawn from Ms. H.X. 18 and Ms. H.X. 45 of the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena. Inasmuch as both of them are apographs Professor Cerreta does not insist upon the authenticity of his reproductions, thus leaving the proof for or against them to others. It so happens that upon reading the poems I have recognized that two of the sonnets in the second collection—*Non punse, arse, legò, stral, fiamma o laccio* (op. cit., 227-8), . . . and *Qual più saldo, gelato e sciolto core* . . . (op. cit., 228) belong to Domenico Veniero, one of the most influential men of his time in the literary field. "Era . . . per la sua autorità negli studj delle lettere, e per la gran fama divenuto come il maestro universale, e il giudice de' componimenti altrui."¹ They have been printed at least three times during the sixteenth century, in the *Terzo Libro delle Rime di Diversi* . . . (Venetia, 1550), 196, 198, the *Primo Libro delle Rime Scelte* . . . (Venetia, 1565), 419, 421 and the *Fiori delle Rime de' Poeti Illustri* (Venetia, 1569), 83, 87. Veniero's great authority as a master of the Italian language made it, of course, desirable to have on hand specimens of his poetry that might serve as models, hence it would be reasonable to assume that Piccolomini, like other poets, must have possessed copies of his most famous compositions, specifically the two that are attributed

1. So writes Serassi in his "La vita del Veniero" prefaced to *Le Rime*. Bergamo, 1751, XX.

to him in the manuscript. When they were transcribed subsequently they appeared under his name. Both illustrate a type of correlative poetry that enjoyed a great vogue during the Baroque Age and are an aspect of the virtuosity that characterizes a substantial part of the *Rime*. Crescimbeni in his *Istoria della Volgar Poesia*, Lib. III., Venezia, 1730, 435, notes the author's predilection for the bizarre "perlochè il maggior suo pregio fondò in accongiarsi uno stile spiritoso, vivace e ricercato; e produsse varij stravagantissimi modi di sonettare: le quali cose seguitate con poca fortuna dai compositori, che continuamente con esso lui conversavano, e da molti altri amici di novità dieder motivo per avventura alla perdita del ben comporre, e alla novella ruina della volgar poesia non molto dopo decaduta." A similar opinion is expressed somewhat later by Tiraboschi who writes in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Nuova ed., Tomo VII, parte III, Firenze, 1812, 1145: "La vivacità delle immagini e la forza delle espressioni è in lui singolare. Ma egli abusa talvolta del suo ingegno medesimo, e convien confessare che alcuni de' sonetti del Veniero si crederebbono scritti nel secolo XVII. Ei fu il primo, per avventura, dopo il risorgimento della poesia, a far uso degli acrostici . . . Ei fu anche il primo a cercare quei troppo affettati riscontri che sembrano incatenare il genio di un poeta, e ne rendono stentate e difficili le poesie, come in questo sonetto: *Non punse . . . e quello per la morte del card. Bembo* che comincia: *Morto il Bembo, la terra e 'l ciel s'aprio . . .* A parlare sinceramente, parmi anzi di un Achillini, o di altro di que' giganteschi poeti vissuti nel secolo scorso, che di un felice imitator del Petrarca, come in più altre rime si mostra il Veniero, le cui poesie sarebber migliori, se non avesse sovente voluto far di esse pompa d'ingegno acuto e vivace." It is interesting, furthermore, to observe that Dámaso Alonso has recently singled him out in his *Seis calas en la expresión literaria española* (Madrid, 1951, 96) as "el mayor retransmisor de procedimientos correlativos."² El

2. He analyzes the complicated pattern of *Non punse . . .* on pp. 51-2 and in a footnote on pp. 96-7 lists other correlative sonnets by Veniero. With the exception of *Morto il Bembo . . .* all of them receive special mention in Serassi's "Tavola delle Rime di Domenico Veniero" who uses the term "corrispondenze continue" to describe them. Under *Non punse . . .* (op. cit. 137) Serassi notes: "Bellissimo sonetto di tre corrispondenze continue il qual piacque tanto per la sua novità e bellezza, che molti poeti di quel tempo si posero ad imitarlo."

Brocense translated *Non punse* . . . into Spanish and Cervantes has given us a close imitation of the same in *La Galatea*: "Afuera el fuego, el lazo, el hielo y flecha . . ."³ Since Veniero holds a prominent place as a precursor in the history of Baroque poetry, even though his *Rime* may never again be republished, his two best known sonnets are certain to be referred to and re-printed from time to time. On this score Professor Cerreta has inadvertently rendered a real service to those who may be concerned with the Venetian poet through the re-copying of versions somewhat different from those printed in the anthologies, very likely representing their pre-1550 forms.

As to *Qual più saldo* . . . the small number of variants that exist do not call for a complete reproduction of the piece either in *Libro Terzo* . . . or the other anthologies. Two are inconsequential, *ed* (1. 3), *com'ei'l* (1. 6) of the manuscript for *od*, *come'l* in the printed texts. The final word of *E che tosto ch'ei scocca o vibra o piega* . . . (1. 12) is given as *spiega* in the three Cinquecento collections, while the *Fiori*-text substitutes *alluma* for *vibra*. In the next two verses

l'arco, il foco, e la rete, in nessun modo,
si fugge il colpo, il caldo e i ceppi suoi.

the *Fiori*-sonnet also differs from the others in using *solfo* for *foco* and *foco* for *caldo*.

But in *Non punse* . . . the variants in the anthologies and the *Rime* are so numerous that it will be advisable to copy the sonnet in them in full and note the variants in the manuscript in order to appreciate properly the drastic changes that took place. They are as follows:

Non punse, arse, o legò stral, fiamma o laccio
d'Amor giamai sì duro e freddo e sciolto
cor, quanto 'l mio, ferito, acceso, e'n volto
miserò pur ne l'amoroso impaccio.

Saldo e gelido, più che marmo e ghiaccio,
libero e franco, *io non temeva*, stolto,
piaga, incendio, o ritegno; e pur m'a colto
l'arco, e *l'esca*, e la rete, in ch'io mi giaccio.

3. See Dámaso Alonso, op. cit. 52 and my *Estudios sobre el petrarquismo en España*. Madrid, 1960, 180.

E trafitto, distrutto, e *preso* in modo
son, ch'altro cor non apre, *avampa*, o cinge,
dardo, face, o catena hoggi più forte.

Ne fia, credo, che'l *sangue*, il *foco*, il nodo
che'l fianco allaga, e mi consuma e stringe
stagni, spenga, o *rallenti* altri che morte.

*Variants: 2. mai cor più. 3. del mio quando. 4. Fu'l primo dì. 6. non temea
poco nè molto. 8. il fuoco. 9. avinto. 10. abbraccia. 12. il colpo, il caldo.
13. che il cor mi passa. 14. Sani . . . e disciolga.*

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ADAM'S STAND, *PURG.* XXX, 82-84

By JOHN FRECCERO

IN CANTO XXX of the *Purgatorio*, after Beatrice levels her harsh accusation at the pilgrim on the other side of the river Lethe, angelic voices seek to console him with the words of the thirtieth psalm:

Ella sì tacque; e li angeli cantaro
di subito '*In te, Domine, speravi*;
ma oltre '*pedes meos*' non passaro.

(vv.82-84)

Here, as elsewhere in the poem, Dante presumably wishes to evoke the sentiments of the psalmist at length, but feels obliged only to identify the passage, leaving the rest to the memory and to the literary acumen of his medieval reader. To us in the twentieth century, the technique seems much like that used by the legendary comedian who tells a private joke to his colleague simply by uttering its catalogue number. The reaction depends upon the story's having been heard before; the uninitiated require footnotes.

The unusual thing about this instance of the technique is that Dante here tells us how far the psalm is relevant to the poem's action at this point. He means us to think of the first nine verses,¹ a passage ending with the following lines:

Exsultabo, et laetabor in misericordia tua.
Quoniam respexisti humilitatem meam,
Salvasti de necessitatibus animam meam.
Nec conclusisti me in manibus inimici;
Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos.

(vv. 8-9)

1. Verses 1-7 are as follows: "In te, Domine, speravi;/Non confundar in aeternum;/ In iustitia tua libera me./Inclina ad me aurem tuam,/Accelera ut eruas me./Esto mihi in Deum protectorem,/Et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias;/Quoniam fortitudo mea et refugium meum es tu;/Et propter nomen tuum deduces me et enutries me./Educes me de laqueo hoc quem absconderunt mihi,/Quoniam tu es protector meus./ In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum;/Redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis./Odisti observantes vanitates supervacuae;/Ego autem in Domino speravi . . ."

Natalino Sapegno describes the entire psalm as an expression of "un'ardente fiducia nella misericordia e protezione del Signore,"² and while this is certainly accurate, it does not tell us why Dante so limits his text. Scartazzini's reply to such a question, "il resto del salmo non tornerebbe opportuno,"³ also seems accurate, although not very useful. It remains to be explained why Dante chose to cut off the psalm at the words "pedes meos."

On the simplest level, the psalm does seem to break down into three parts, and is usually so divided in modern Latin texts intended for liturgical use. The first of these parts is precisely the passage recalled by Dante, the first nine verses expressing faith and hope in God. The second is a lamentation, beginning (v. 10) *Miserere me*, and the last an exhortation to the faithful to trust in God, beginning (v.20) *Quam magna multitudo*. The second and third parts seem less suited to the pilgrim's disposition at the summit of the mountain than does the first part, which is most appropriate. Hugo de Sancto Caro, in his *partitio* of Psalm XXX, suggested that the first part recalls the "primum remedium contra pavorem, scilicet spes,"⁴ and it is surely a remedy against fear that the angels provide Dante after his initial chastisement by Beatrice. The remedy is efficacious:

ma poi ch'i' 'ntesi nelle dolci tempre
lor compatire a me, più che se detto
avesser: "Donna, perchè sì lo stempre?"
lo gel che m'era intorno al cor ristretto,
spirito e acqua fessi, e con angoscia
della bocca e delli occhi uscì del petto.

(vv.94-99)

and the pilgrim is ready to repent, after which he may cross over into Eden proper.

If we look more closely at the last verses of the portion of the psalm evoked by Dante (quoted above), we begin to see that they recapitulate in a vague way the stages of the pilgrim's progress thus far in the moral allegory. God has seen his descent in humility through the infernal regions and has purged him

2. *La Divina Commedia*, a cura di Natalino Sapegno (Firenze, 1956), II, 344.

3. *La Divina Commedia*, Soc. dant. ital., col commento Scartazzini-Vandelli, 16ma ediz. (Milano, 1955), p. 571.

4. Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Opera* (Venetiis, 1754), II, 71b.

from all sin and saved him from his enemies (which Hugo identifies as "mundus, caro et demonia."⁵). We may then presume that the pilgrim has reached a kind of natural perfection here on the banks of the river Lethe, and, having been "crowned and mitred" by Virgil,⁶ awaits the supernatural perfection that only Beatrice, which is to say Sanctifying Grace, can bring. Our presumption that this is the case need not however be based on anything more than the theological and philosophical resonances of the line singled out by Dante for special emphasis: "Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos," for in this context, it cannot fail to recall the two successive perfections of Adam himself.

Peter Lombard, *Magister sententiarum*, seeks to explain in the second book of the *Sentences* why it was that Adam needed Sanctifying Grace after having been created *in naturalibus* and before having sinned. He described Adam's condition with a metaphor which was to become very popular with the Scholastics and which is perhaps echoed in the verse of the psalm as it is used by Dante: "Non enim habebat [Adam] quo pedem movere posset sine gratiae operantis et cooperantis auxilio; habuit tamen quo poterat stare."⁷ Thereafter, those thinkers who believed that Adam was created only *in naturalibus* and had to wait for Grace used the expression "Stare poterat, pedes movere non poterat."⁸ In other words, the state of nature, represented by Adam's stand, was to the Scholastics a state of paralyzed perfection, from which one could not move a step toward God until He made it possible, with the gift of Sanctifying grace.

The metaphor was not an arbitrary one. It depended upon the ancient analogy between the action of the body and the action of the soul. Just as the body moves with its feet, so the soul moves with its twin powers, *intellectus* and *affectus*, the reason and the will. Thus, Alexander of Hales tells us that Adam required the supernatural perfection of both these powers so that he might

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Purg.* XXVII, 139ff.:

Non aspettar mio dir più nè mio cenno:
libero, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio,
e fallo fora non fare a suo senno:
per ch'io te sovra te corono e mitrio.

7. Petrus Lombardus, *Liber Sententiarum*, II, 29, 1 (ed. Migne [Paris, 1841], I, col.209).

8. See Henri de Lubac, *Surnaturel* (Paris, 1946), p.96.

walk: "in via morum recte ambulare."⁹ There were therefore two distinct stages in the creation of Adam: he was first created, able to stand firmly, and then given the grace to move toward God.

Charles S. Singleton has demonstrated how important is the history of this distinction between the two moments of Adam's creation for our understanding of the poem at this point:

The pattern of the original formation of man is thus seen to repeat itself in the re-formation of a man named Dante, who attains first to a condition of justice with Virgil, within the proportion of his nature and under the natural light, and then, in a second moment attains to Eden proper, crossing the river to a kind of justice with Beatrice that is truly beyond all human measure.¹⁰

We may add to his demonstration the observation that Dante singles out the one verse of psalm XXX that would be most likely to recall the metaphor used by the Scholastics to describe Adam's first moment: "Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos", and does so precisely at a point in the poem when it is most important to realize how far the pilgrim has come and to see how far he has yet to go. The pilgrim's feet were not always so firmly established. In the prologue scene of the *Inferno* (I,30) we were told about the weakness of one of the powers of his soul with the same kind of corporeal imagery: "l'piè fermo sempre era 'l più basso."¹¹ Now, however, after Virgil has pronounced him healed with respect to *arbitrio*, the point of contact between reason and will, his feet are free, straight and sound, albeit rooted to the spot until called into action by Beatrice, on the other side of the river.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

9. Alexander of Hales (?), *Summa Theologica*, I, II, Inq.IV, tr. III, quest.IV, 516 (Quaracchi, 1928), II,762.

10. Charles S. Singleton, *Journey to Beatrice: Dante Studies 2* (Cambridge, 1958), p.283; See pp.254-83, "Crossing Over into Eden."

11. J. Freccero, "Dante's Firm Foot," *Harvard Theological Review* LII, 3 (Oct., 1959).

GIONO'S RUSTIC DRAMAS

By MAXWELL A. SMITH

TO SOME students of French literature it may come as a surprise to learn that Giono, prolific and successful novelist, has also been tempted by the stage. This is no fleeting interest, for Giono's preoccupation with the theater goes back to his brief *Esquisse d'une Mort d'Hélène* written in his twenty-fifth year and continues down to the present with his recent ventures in radio drama (*Domitien*) and in the movies (*L'Eau vive* and *Crésus*). This penchant for the dramatic genre is all the more surprising because in the opinion of all his critics (except that of Romée de Ville-neuve who finds everything Giono writes equally felicitous) his gifts are primarily those of a descriptive artist and inventor of mysterious adventures rather than of a creator of characters. One would assume that Giono when writing his plays would disregard stage conventions and content himself with closet drama, yet all of his plays have been performed with some success, one of them, at least, in several foreign countries.

The first volume of Giono's plays, the three rustic dramas with which we are concerned here, was not published until 1943, yet two of these at least seem to have been written in the early thirties when he was composing his *Trilogy of Pan*. *Le Bout de la route*, first appearing in 1937 in the second number of the *Cahiers du Contadour*, is almost devoid of action and rather the painting of a mood, in the manner of Jean-Jacques Bernard's Theater of Silence, as found for instance in *Martine* or *Invitation au voyage*.

Late in the evening in a little hamlet backed up against a high mountain Jean arrives weary from a long journey and seeks hospitality in a house at the end of a road. Here he finds the mountaineer Albert who descends every Tuesday to visit his fiancée Mina, the latter's mother Rosine, and the old grandmother half crazed with grief over the loss some years before of her daughter. Jean has no difficulty in establishing rapport with the aged crone, for he too has lost someone dear to him, the unfaithful spouse whom he had left behind him in the embrace of another, but whose presence in his heart is so real that he perceives the existence of those around him only as shadows. Both Mina and

Albert feel compassion for this lonely stranger who is taken into the household and given work on the land. Soon we realize that Mina's pity for this handsome dreamer and idealist has changed to love and Albert, conscious of the detachment of his fiancée, nobly assures Jean that he is still his friend. Rosine, moved by maternal tenderness for Jean's solitude, tries without avail to call him back into the world of the living, and when Jean understands at last that Mina has lavished upon him a love he cannot share, he mournfully resumes his lonely pilgrimage to the end of the road.

Both Michelfelder¹ and Villeneuve² have seen in the character of Jean a precursor of Bobi, the wandering poet, acrobat and idealist of *Que ma joie demeure*. Like Bobi, Jean is full of poetic imagery. "Ce doit être une belle nuit toute sablée d'étoiles. La montagne en fleur ouverte comme une fontaine. La nuit est un grand manteau qui coule doucement." Yet Jean reminds us also of Albin, the hero of *Un de Baumugnes*, for he too comes from the high mountains, and he too is able to forgive the woman who has been unfaithful to him. There is something of Albin also in the gentle musician Albert (who plays an accordeon rather than a harmonica). Villeneuve³ has pointed out the resemblance of Rosine to old Mamèche of *Regain*, whose desire for the perpetuation of life had led her to bring together the hermit Panturle and the woman Arsule. Rosine too tries to awaken Jean to his responsibility as a living man and draw him back from his shadow world of fidelity to a lost ideal.

As we have seen, the weakness of this play lies in its static quality. In the persons of the grandmother and of Rosine we have the conflict of two forces for the soul of Jean, sterility of the dead past refusing to accept reality and the life force insisting upon eternal transformation and adaptation. Yet in the heart of Jean there is no real struggle, for he goes about his daily tasks like a man in a dream, more conscious of the woman he has lost than of the persons of flesh and blood who surround him. Yet if there is no movement in the drama, it nevertheless is highly moving in its simple pathos and resignation. Perhaps it is this which accounts for its run of more than five hundred performances in

1. Christian Michelfelder, *Jean Giono*, Gallimard, Paris, p. 133.

2. Romée de Villeneuve, *Jean Giono, ce solitaire*, Paris, p. 83.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

the Théâtre des Noctambules in Paris during the Occupation.

Lanceurs de graines is of all Giono's plays the most truly dramatic, the most harmoniously balanced in its combination of poetic atmosphere and symbol with sharply delineated characters. It is the play which has contributed most to Giono's international reputation, for after its first performance in Geneva in 1932, followed by those of the Théâtre de l'Atelier and the Théâtre Montmartre in Paris that same year, it has been presented in London (both in French and English), in Brussels, Oslo, Frankfurt, Prague, and Vienna.

As the curtain rises we see Aubert preparing to leave the ancestral farm, because after his father's death his mother had married Maître Antoine, a practical, hard-fisted realist determined to sacrifice the natural beauties of the estate in order to introduce efficient methods of cultivation. As the idealistic young Aubert reproaches his step-father bitterly for his sacrilege in trying to master and violate the land, his mother cries: "On dirait que vous vous disputez une femme." If Maître Antoine has an ally in the woman he has subdued, Aubert likewise finds a convert to his views in the comely servant girl Catherine, who brings him food and tobacco in his distant hiding place and offers him her virginal warmth and passion.

At first Maître Antoine seems successful in his plans, for he has induced the workmen to plug up the spring, drain the lovely pond, and blast with dynamite the majestic oak which shaded the house in summer heat and formed a resting place for innumerable pigeons. As in *Colline*, however, inanimate nature takes her revenge on the man who has violated her. An approaching thunderstorm brings night at midafternoon, the pigeons fly away in terror, horses break loose in panic from the stable and Maître Antoine, feverish and delirious, returns home overcome with remorse for the trees which he has slaughtered. In the final act as Maître Antoine dies clinging piteously to the hand of his wife, Aubert returns to reestablish the old regime of tranquil harmony. The workers calmly smoke their pipes and fish in the pond now restored to its primitive beauty. The triumph of nature is evident in the ironic contrast between the death of Maître Antoine and the joy of Aubert and the workers as they contemplate the shimmering blue trout they have caught in the pond.

The atmosphere of rustic beauty which critics have praised in

the play is not merely a poetic setting but also a dramatic force inherent in the action itself, the principle over which the protagonists are fighting. Yet Malherbe has unduly simplified the theme when he sums up: "Maître Antoine et Aubert sont deux lanceurs de graine, l'un le visagé tourné vers l'avenir, l'autre vers le passé. Lequel a raison?"⁴ The conflict is not so much between the forces of progress and the dead hand of the past. It may be questioned whether the greedy efficiency of Maître Antoine with his modern machinery would really contribute to the welfare of this community, for the steep hills are covered with a soil too thin to produce barley and the pond and marshland may well be more productive in fish and sheep than if sowed for wheat.

There remains a word to say concerning the symbolism of the title, which adds a further richness and complexity to the theme. If the struggle for the land has been waged between the two couples, there is another conflict inherent in the play, that between the two sexes. Catherine has come to realize that Aubert's love for her is not all-inclusive, like her need for him, but is shared by his enthusiasm for nature, his preoccupation with creative activity. And his mother consoles her gently: "Semeurs de rêves ou semeurs de blé, ma fille, la vie leur a donné le sac de graines et tant qu'il y a la vie autour d'eux ils doivent lancer les graines. C'est l'ordre."

The last of Giono's three rustic plays was *La Femme du boulanger*. In *Jean le bleu*, his semi-autobiographical volume published in 1932, there occurred a fifteen page episode concerning the flight of the baker's wife with the shepherd of Conches which has been chosen as a short story in anthologies and bids fair to become immortal. Some ten years later Giono enlarged this episode into a three act drama, performed in Paris by the Compagnie des Trois Masques but famous throughout the world in the film version of Marcel Pagnol. For some reason Pagnol gave scant credit to the work of his friend Giono, suggesting merely that the film had been inspired by the short episode in *Jean le bleu*, whereas he had, according to Villeneuve,⁵ actually adapted to the screen Giono's three act drama.

Why has Giono's drama been so much less successful than the film version or than the original episode in *Jean le bleu*? An

4. Henry Malherbe, *Revue des Vivants*, dec., 1932.

5. Romée de Villeneuve, *Jean Giono, ce solitaire*, p. 91.

analysis of the action would show that the original version so poignant in its unadorned simplicity, becomes overloaded with philosophical abstraction and dialectical verbosity until we almost lose interest in the abductor and his companion. At times the play affords flashes of wit such as the remark, "Avec toutes les qualités qu'un mari réclame à une seule femme le bon Dieu ferait trois saintes." In general, however, we must regret the absence of a central aim and impression, for in this welter of words and prolixity of characters we lose the thread of the dramatic story as the two principal protagonists, the baker and the baron, stand aloof from the action and exchange metaphysical subtleties. As Pugnet has so well expressed it "Giono a tenté de suppléer à l'immobilité des personnages par la variété du décor. Mais si les tableaux changent, il semble que les protagonistes restent à la même place, car ils poursuivent un même dialogue sans avoir trop conscience de s'être déplacés."⁶

Despite the attraction which the theater has always exerted for Giono, his disarming lucidity of self-criticism makes him the first to recognize that he is not primarily a dramatist. In answer to a question of Villeneuve,⁷ he replied frankly: "Le théâtre exige une technique et une manière de sentir que je n'ai pas. Je ne crois point, par exemple, que *La Femme du boulanger* puisse être joué sur une grande scène, comme l'Odéon. Le public serait dérouté." Giono realized that his drama was primarily one of ideas, appealing only to a rather select audience, whereas "ce film plaît au public parce que l'action est mouvante, parce que le village et la nature sont associés à l'action." It is not surprising therefore that Giono has himself turned to the cinema for his most recent dramatic productions *L'Eau vive* and *Crésus*.

UNIVERSITY OF CHATTANOOGA

6. Jacques Pugnet, *Jean Giono*, Paris, p. 117.

7. Romée de Villeneuve, *Giono, ce solitaire*, p. 98.

MAUPASSANT'S *BEL AMI* AND HEINRICH MANN'S
IM SCHLARAFFENLAND

By ULRICH WEISSTEIN

IT WAS in Rome that, around 1898, Heinrich Mann set to work on a satirical novel "unter feinen Leuten" (*fein* being a euphemism for *decadent*), which was to be an ironic reflection of his recent Berlin experiences. The novel was completed at Riva (Lake Garda) in March, 1900, and published in that year by Kurt Wolff in Leipzig. Because of its satirical nature it was not too well received by the German public.

Concerning the literary tradition in which *Im Schlaraffenland* was written, it can be stated that the story of the parvenu does not appear in German literature before Heinrich Heine, whose *Bäder von Lucca* have no predecessor in the native context. Closer in time to Heinrich Mann's novel is Theodor Fontane's *Frau Jenny Treibel*, which remains, however, the work of a realist with a somewhat Romantic sensibility and tending to suffuse his novels with a subtle spirit of *Selbstironie*. *Frau Jenny Treibel* is neither aggressive nor revolutionary but good-humored and conciliatory, and its parvenus move in a decidedly mellow light. Indeed, the literary heir of Fontane was Thomas Mann rather than his elder brother, as is shown by the *Buddenbrooks*, which were published within a year after *Im Schlaraffenland*.

Wedekind's *Marquis von Keith*, which was also published in 1900, betrays a closer kinship with the style of Heinrich Mann's first accomplished novel. Heinrich Mann gratefully acknowledged Wedekind's decisive influence upon his art. As he realized from the vantage point of 1923, figures like the Marquis of Keith clearly foreshadowed imminent historical developments, while the protagonist of *Im Schlaraffenland* was in no way a prophetic figure. Neither Fontane's remote nor Wedekind's more tangible influence on Heinrich Mann's novel, however, can match that of Guy de Maupassant, whose *Bel-Ami* furnished the immediate model for *Im Schlaraffenland*. The kinship between Mann and Maupassant must have been quickly realized by a society in which every new work from the Frenchman's pen was

greeted with enthusiasm.¹ A spokesman for his German fellow critics, Heinrich Hart sums up this general impression, while at the same time noting Gabriele d'Annunzio's stylistic impact on the novel.² Although Maupassant's name does not figure in Mann's published writings, some of the latter's early novellas (especially *Die Enttäuschung*) furnish additional evidence for the importance of the French writer in his artistic development.

When first published in 1885 in the magazine *Gil-Blas*, *Bel-Ami* stirred up a flurry of excitement, notably in Parisian press circles, where it was assumed that the work was intended as an attack upon current journalistic mores. Maupassant defended himself against this charge by asserting: "J'ai voulu simplement raconter la vie d'un aventurier pareil à tous ceux que nous coudoyons chaque jour dans Paris, et qu'on rencontre dans toutes les professions existantes."³ No doubt, corrupt journalists and politicians were among Maupassant's principal targets; but even so *Bel-Ami* remains first and foremost a literary portrait of Parisian society in an age comparable to the German *Gründerjahre*. Just as Fontane's aperçu "In eine Herzogsfamilie kann man allenfalls hineinkommen, in eine Bourgeoisfamilie nicht" can well be regarded as an appropriate motto for *Im Schlaraffenland*, Maupassant sums up his theme in the sentence: "Les épaves de la noblesse sont toujours recueillies par les bourgeois parvenus."⁴

A realist of the highest calibre, and an expert psychologist to boot, Maupassant saw the metropolitan society in all its splendor and complexity and portrayed it against the richly painted backdrop of a city throbbing with life. The Berlin of *Im Schlaraffenland*, on the other hand, is shown in much less detail, and its

1. See Theodor Fontane, *Werke* (Berlin, 1920), III, 358: "Denn weiss es Gott, ich habe mich auch schon blamiert . . . Oder kommt es im Französischen nicht vor, wenigstens dann nicht, wenn man alle Juli nach Paris reist und einen neuen Band Maupassant mit heim bringt? Das ist ja wohl das Feinste?"

2. "Heinrich Mann steht geistig und stilistisch im Banne Maupassants und d'Annunzios. Stofflich erinnert sein Roman nur zu sehr an Maupassants *Bel-Ami*, in den Bildern, in den Schilderungen macht sich der Einfluss d'Annunzios deutlich bemerkbar." *Velhagen und Klavins Monatshefte*, XV (1900-1901), pt. 1, p. 599.

3. From Maupassant's reply "aux critiques de *Bel-Ami*," which appears at the end of the volume of his *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Conard, 1910) which contains this novel. Subsequent quotes are taken from this edition.

4. Op. cit., III, 490, and *Bel-Ami*, p. 203.

inhabitants interest us less for their own sakes than on account of the situations in which they are entangled (their social status). Maupassant is, on the whole, "völlig sachlich" in his descriptions and reports the facts which he adduces "ohne Satire und Ironie . . . voll sicherer Einfachheit."⁵ Heinrich Mann prefers to dwell on situations that are inherently grotesque and which, while only rarely exceeding the limits of verisimilitude, naturally lend themselves to literary caricature. Maupassant punctiliously motivates each change of opinion and turn of action,⁶ while Heinrich Mann is not overly concerned with psychological niceties. In other words: Maupassant sees the world as through the lense of a microscope, whereas Mann observes with his naked eye (and Wedekind with a magnifying glass). The grotesque element in *Im Schlaraffenland*—its Wedekindian nature—is largely restricted to art and literature.

As for the plots of *Bel-Ami* and *Im Schlaraffenland*, their similarity is truly remarkable. In both cases a petit-bourgeois outsider, an unusually charming young man,⁷ infiltrates parvenu society by engaging in a love-affair with the middle-aged wife⁸ of a Jewish tycoon,⁹ who has amassed a fortune by staging a number of skillful financial coups.¹⁰ The wealthy mistress provides her penniless lover with new clothes, a new apartment and the cash he needs to become a *cavaliere servente*.¹¹ In either case,

5. O. St. in *Die Wage* (Vienna), III (1900), p. 286.

6. One of the best examples for this punctiliousness is Mme. de Marelle's discovery of the strands of hair which Mme. Walter has slung around her lover's coat buttons (*Bel-Ami*, p. 450).

7. Compare "Dis-donc, mon vieux, sais-tu que tu as vraiment du succès auprès des femmes" (*Bel-Ami*, p. 25) with "Sie sind dafür geschaffen, viel Glück bei den Frauen zu haben, mein Lieber" (Heinrich Mann, *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, Berlin, 1950 ff., I, 23).

8. What is said of Mme. Walter (*Bel-Ami*, p. 183) —"Elle était un peu trop grasse, belle encore, à l'âge dangereux où la débâcle est proche. Elle se maintenait à force de soins, de précautions, d'hygiène et de pâtes pour la peau"—equally well applies to Mrs. Türkheimer.

9. As editor of the anti-semitic periodical *Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert* (from 1894 to 1896), the young Heinrich Mann shared this attitude to a certain extent. Hence his treatment of the Zionist Liebling in *Im Schlaraffenland*.

10. The affair of the Algerian mines in *Bel-Ami* corresponds to those of Puerto Vergogna and the Texas Bloody Gold Mounts in *Im Schlaraffenland*.

11. Maupassant's "Quand on est dans ta situation, comme c'est amusant de retrouver de l'argent oublié dans une poche, une pièce qui avait glissé dans la

however, the youthful beau soon begins to tire of a mistress so much older than himself and ultimately deserts her for a younger rival. The discovery of this betrayal results in a near-catastrophe, which is averted—or at least mitigated—only because the offender poses a threat to the security and well-being of his former patron. Bel-Ami elopes with the parvenu's daughter and thus compels her father to consent to their marriage. The hero's triumph is celebrated with a sumptuous wedding, with the description of which ceremony Maupassant's novel concludes happily. Andreas Zumsee—Friedrich Köpf's human guinea pig in *Im Schlaraffenland*—can boast of no such luck, however. He is married off to the daughter of a proletarian, a certain Bienaimée Matzke who, once Türkheimer's mistress, has fallen into disgrace because she constantly deceived him. At the end of Mann's novel, Zumsee resumes his petit-bourgeois life. Faced with this stunning defeat of his ambitions, he consoles himself with the following consideration:

Wie oft bedienen sich Natur und Schicksal grosser Mittel, um ein verhältnismässig unbedeutendes Resultat zu erzielen. Ich bin Modelöwe, Berühmtheit, und meinen Renten nach, fast schon Millionär gewesen und habe jetzt dreihundert Mark monatlich. Aber die höhere Absicht in dem allen war: ich sollte nicht ein wissenschaftlicher Hilfslehrer am Progymnasium zu Gumpach werden, sondern Redakteur des *Nachtkurier*, was denn doch ein Unterschied ist.¹²

Proceeding from these striking parallels between the two novels to the similarity of the characters, we note that although Heinrich Mann's parvenu family presents a fairly accurate copy of the one which Maupassant depicts, the protagonists themselves differ in many ways. Bel-Ami is a born woman-killer, a Don Juan who can be as brutal and resourceful as he is usually charming and adorable; Andreas Zumsee is seduced rather than actively seducing, a fellow who is too effeminate to impress the girls of his own age.¹³ But in spite of his apparent naiveté, he is as nasty

doublure" (*Bel-Ami*, p. 159) is subtler than Mann's way of suggesting this relationship: "Als sie ihm die überstandene Gefahr genügend klargemacht hatte, wagte sie es, aus ihrem Pelzmuff eine kleine lederne Brieftasche hervorzuziehen." (*Ausgewählte Werke*, I, p. 204).

12. *Ibid.*, p. 394.

13. Notice the contrast between Bel-Ami's power over Laurine de Varenne (*Bel-Ami*, p. 50) and Zumsee's embarrassment in the presence of his teenage admirers (*Ausgewählte Werke*, I, p. 235).

as his mentality permits.¹⁴ The author insists on calling him a person totally lacking in originality,¹⁵ an individual who does not rise by his own merits and whose success can be explained only by the absence of refinement and taste in the society into which Heinrich Mann propels him.¹⁶ Left to his own devices in a society as sophisticated as the Parisian one, Andreas Zumsee could never hope to reach that apogée of social and economic success which is attained by the protagonist of Maupassant's novel.

There are many additional points of contact between *Bel-Ami* and *Im Schlaraffenland*. To mention only a few: both Saint-Potin and Kafisch are genuine "Schmock" figures whose similarity extends even to the interviewing techniques they have perfected. Both authors are fond of using "speaking names," that of *Bel-Ami* being echoed in those of Liebling and Bienaimée Matzke. Space does not permit a listing of the many descriptive details and characteristic incidents which Heinrich Mann borrowed, though rarely without adjusting them to the context of his novel. They include Mrs. Türkheimer's humiliation by Andreas Zumsee's landlady,¹⁷ the hero's change of name (which signifies a change in status),¹⁸ and the detailed account of Zumsee's destitution.¹⁹ Whatever Heinrich Mann's indebtedness to Maupassant, there is no question that *Im Schlaraffenland* is considerably more than an imitation of *Bel-Ami*; for, as the title of the former novel indicates, it is a picture of society as a whole rather than the story of a parvenu seen against the backdrop of society (as is the case with the latter work). *Bel-Ami*, moreover, remains well within the orbit of the psychological novel, whereas *Im Schlaraffenland* subordinates the psychological point of view to the satirical one.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

14. It is only partly ironical when Diederich Klempner calls Zumsee a Pulcinello, "den komisch aufgefassten Typus des reinen Naturkindes, das ohne moralisches Vorurteil an die Dinge herantritt, zu Niederträchtigkeiten in seiner Unschuld ebenso geneigt wie zu Heldentaten." *Ausgewählte Werke*, I, p. 67.

15. Like Tony Buddenbrook, Andreas Zumsee is fond of repeating what others have said, without ever acknowledging his debt.

16. Zumsee is a hopelessly mediocre "Literat," whereas George Duroy quickly adjusts himself to the circumstances and turns into a first-rate journalist.

17. Compare *Bel-Ami*, p. 138, with *Ausgewählte Werke*, I, p. 249.

18. Compare *Bel-Ami*, p. 299 (Duroy- Du Roy) with *Ausgewählte Werke*, I, p. 339 (Zumsee- Zum See).

19. Compare *Bel-Ami*, p. 18, with *Ausgewählte Werke*, I, p. 2.

SAINTE-BEUVE ET LE SEIZIEME SIECLE

Par MARCEL FRANÇON

DANS SON livre, *Sainte-Beuve* (Paris, 1959), Maurice Regard remarque qu' "aucun candidat en Sorbonne ne paraît avoir retenu *Sainte-Beuve et le XVI^e siècle.*" (p. 220). Il est vrai, en effet, que l'influence de la littérature du siècle de Rabelais et de Ronsard sur la littérature romantique devrait être étudiée avec plus de soin que des travaux partiels ne l'ont fait jusqu'à maintenant. J'en prends, pour témoin, l'ouvrage de L. Cellier sur Gérard de Nerval, publié dans la même collection, "Connaissance des Lettres," que le récent travail de M. Regard; et je me permettrai de souligner les erreurs qui se lisent, dans ce dernier livre, en ce qui concerne le concours d'éloquence organisé par l'Académie Française en 1826. Voici ce que dit M. Regard:

"En août 1826, l'Académie Française avait proposé comme prix d'éloquence pour 1827 un '*Discours sur l'Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises, depuis les commencements du XVI^e siècle jusqu'en 1610.*'"

Le *Journal des savans* de janvier 1826 (Paris, 1826) faisait part de l'information suivante: "L'Académie annonce qu'elle proposera pour sujet du prix de prose qui sera décerné en 1828, un discours . . ." (p. 502), et la *Gazette Nationale, ou le Moniteur Universel*, à la date du 8 septembre 1826, p. 1280, faisait quelques rectifications sur le sujet du discours. Voici ce qui était imprimé:

"Prix de prose pour 1828"

"L'Académie annonce qu'elle proposera pour sujet de prix de prose, qui sera décerné en 1828:

Un discours sur la marche et les progrès de la langue et de la littérature françaises depuis le commencement du 16^e siècle jusqu'en 1610."

Une note, au bas de la page précisait: "Il faut remarquer (que) [les] mots jusques en 1610, parce que plusieurs journaux ont imprimé jusques en 1710, ce qui pourrait entraîner les concurrents dans une grave erreur."

M. Regard continue: "Depuis longtemps les poètes du XVI^e siècle étaient à la mode." Il est curieux de constater comme

la critique passa d'un extrême à l'autre. Le sonnet célèbre de Sainte-Beuve commençait par ces vers:

A toi Ronsard, à toi qu'un sort injurieux
Depuis deux siècles livre aux mépris de l'histoire, . . .

C'est en 1907 que Fuchs a commencé d'étudier "comment le XVII^e et le XVIII^e siècles ont jugé Ronsard," et il montrait que, depuis la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, Ronsard avait joui d'un renouveau de popularité (voir mon édition du mémoire de Nerval, *Les poètes du XVI^e siècle* [texte de 1831]). Ce n'est que vers 1753 que Ronsard commençait d'être réhabilité et qu'il se relevait de la double condamnation dont il avait été l'objet de la part de Malherbe et de Boileau; or, Mornet a montré que "de 1760 à la Révolution," il y avait eu "une longue 'querelle Boileau' . . ." (*Le Romantisme et les lettres*, par F. Brunot, D. Mornet, . . . [Paris, s.d.], p. 52). La réputation de Ronsard croît donc à mesure que celle de Boileau diminue. On peut donc souscrire à la déclaration suivante de M. Regard: "l'Académie [. . .], en proposant son sujet, se conformait donc au goût du jour"; mais que dire de la supposition suivante: "Elle [l'Académie] s'attendait à un jugement nuancé sur la Pléiade et à un éloge de Malherbe qui entraînerait condamnation du Romantisme"? Ce qui nous aide à comprendre ce qu'était le "goût du jour," au moment du Concours de l'Académie Française, c'est le sujet du Discours organisé par l'Académie des Jeux Floraux, en 1829: la question proposée était celle-ci: "Quels avantages peuvent retirer nos écrivains de la lecture des auteurs français antérieurs au 17^e siècle?" On peut donc penser, me semble-t-il, que l'intérêt que, vers 1826, l'on commençait de porter aux écrivains du XVI^e siècle appartenait à un mouvement général en faveur du Moyen Age et du XVI^e siècle. On voit, là, une caractéristique du Romantisme. L'Académie Française, en se préoccupant des "questions de critique historique," en cherchant "à remonter aux sources des choses, à interroger les origines," cédait, en partie, aux tendances nouvelles (voir mon édition de *Saulsaye* de Maurice Scève [Cambridge, 1959], p. 186). Il y avait, pourtant, des résistances; c'est ce qui explique que certains hommes pensaient que les écrivains ne pourraient pas tirer d'avantages de la lecture des auteurs français antérieurs au XVII^e siècle. Il faut se rappeler qu'en 1830, le Romantisme

n'était pas encore condamné comme il le fut plus tard: les "classiques" essayaient plus ou moins timidement d'incorporer à leurs oeuvres un certain nombre d'éléments nouveaux que les Romantiques prônaient. Mais M. Regard poursuit ses hypothèses: "Il est possible que Daunou ait conseillé à Sainte-Beuve de concourir en traitant le sujet dans un esprit classique. En tout cas, il est certain que, même au départ, les intentions du jeune écrivain étaient moins tranchées que ne le laisserait supposer le livre." M. Regard avait, pourtant, dit, avec raison, que, dès 1827, Sainte-Beuve était "embrigadé": il appartenait au Cénacle. Si, donc, Sainte-Beuve, comme Hugo, s'intéresse à Ronsard, ce n'est pas pour prendre la défense de Malherbe! La position de Sainte-Beuve n'était pas très différente de celle de Nerval, semble-t-il, et c'est bien pour faire l'éloge du Romantisme que Sainte-Beuve écrivit ses articles sur la poésie française du XVI^e siècle.

M. Regard conclut: "Il ne restait donc que trois candidats en présence. Mais l'Académie Française rejeta le mémoire présenté par Gérard de Nerval, non parce qu'il . . .". Or, que savons-nous sur les candidats au concours de 1828? Il y avait sept manuscrits, et l'on ne sait pas, de façon sûre, si Nerval a réellement pris part au concours (voir M. Françon, "Note sur l'étude de Gérard de Nerval, 'Les poètes du XVI^e siècle,'" *Studi Francesi*, N° 11 [1960], 276-278). Pour M. Regard le manuscrit de Sainte-Beuve était "loin d'être prêt" pour le Concours; or, comme nous l'avons dit, le Concours n'eut lieu qu'en 1828 et, le 7 juillet 1827, Sainte-Beuve avait commencé de publier ses articles sur les poètes du XVI^e siècle. D'après M. Regard, comme Sainte-Beuve n'était pas "prêt", et comme le mémoire de Nerval avait été rejeté par l'Académie, il ne devait rester, finalement, que deux candidats: "Le prix fut donc partagé, dans la séance du 25 août 1827, entre Saint-Marc Girardin et Philarète Chasles. Un an plus tard seulement, le 19 juillet 1828, Sainte-Beuve publiera deux volumes chez Sautetlet [...]. Pour bien signifier qu'il ne garde aucun souci académique, au contraire, la préface est datée de juin 1828" (p. 23). D'après Mlle Laffitte, archiviste de l'Académie, les manuscrits furent déposés du 24 avril au 15 mai 1828, "dernière limite de rigueur," et le prix fut décerné le 25 août 1828. Que ressort-il de cet examen? Sainte-Beuve n'a pas voulu prendre part au Concours, et il n'y a aucune raison de supposer que Sainte-Beuve ait reçu de Daunou le conseil de traiter le sujet du Con-

cours "dans un esprit classique." Disons, enfin, que la chronologie des événements établie par M. Regard ne correspond pas exactement à ce que nous savons.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

A ZODIACAL NOTE: GRANDVAL'S *LE VALET*
ASTROLOGUE (1710)

By SPIRE PITOU

ALTHOUGH THE date of Grandval's *Le valet astrologue* has been questioned and it has been suggested that this play is a shortened version of Néel's *L'illusion grotesque*¹, the ms of this unpublished comedy has never been examined². The title pages of the ms bears the notation that it was played at Rouen in 1710, and so it is reasonable to accept this year, and not 1697, as the date of its composition. The other matter to be considered here would be the real debt of *Le valet astrologue* to Néel's *L'illusion grotesque* (1678).

Although the subtitle of Néel's play is "... ou le feint nécromancien," a parallel examination of this composition and *Le valet astrologue* reveals that Grandval's work, in one act and prose, is by no means an abridgment of Néel's three-act comedy in verse. This might seem surprising since *L'illusion grotesque* was printed in Rouen and its author was in all probability a lawyer there. But Néel's comedy is concerned with the efforts of a seduced woman to persuade her not too deserving seducer to become her husband, and she achieves her ends more by means of her lover's lack of spirit than through any superstitious bent in his nature. Grandval's play evolves from the efforts of two young people to marry in spite of parental plans to the contrary. The fact that a valet disguised as a sorcerer is consulted in each play in reference to an impending marriage is the closest point of *rapprochement* between Néel's comedy and *Le valet astrologue*, a *rapprochement* that is made more slight by the fact that the consultant in the latter composition is the heroine's father whereas, in *L'illusion grotesque*, this function in the plot is assumed

1. Cf Henry Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French dramatic literature in the seventeenth century* (Baltimore, 1929-42), IV, p. 479, n. 4 and 888-9, n. 25.

2. Cf Henri Omont, *Bibliothèque nationale: catalogue général des manuscrits français; ancien supplément français*, I, nos. 6171-9560 du fonds français (Paris, 1895), 334, no. 9248 (3062), troisième portefeuille.

by the pursued groom-to-be. And, as will be indicated in a moment, d'Ouville had employed this device in his *Jodelet astrologue*. Another basic difference is that Néel's play is concerned directly with the supernatural in only one scene (II, 3), whereas Grandval makes Oronte's addiction to astrology the core of his comedy. Nor does he exploit contemporary manners.

If *Le valet astrologue* owes a debt to any earlier comedy, it might be thought that d'Ouville's *Jodelet astrologue* (1645) or Thomas Corneille's *Le feint astrologue* (1650) would be likely inspirations for this play, if titles be construed as signposts to sources. D'Ouville's play, an adaptation itself of Calderón's *El Astrólogo fingido* and influenced by Mlle de Scudéry's *Ibrahim*, has the innovation of the role of the astrologer being played by a valet instead of by one of the young lovers disguised as a valet and, as is also the case in Grandval's play, Jodelet confesses finally that he has no knowledge of astrology in spite of his previous claims and performances. But these are hardly sufficient reasons for dismissing Grandval's play as an adaptation of this comedy since Jodelet becomes an astrologer in order to defend Liliane's servant, Nise, whereas Grandval's Francisque dons one of the "vieilles [sic] robes" of his deceased master in astrology (sc. 1) so that he may thwart Mme Nigaudet's plans to promote a marriage between Angélique and her son. Also, one of the principal events in *Jodelet astrologue* is Tindare's "return" to the living. The idea of reviving the dead is not even entertained by Francisque; such a feat would have no meaning in terms of the plot. If Grandval owed anything to d'Ouville, it is the fact that he followed the latter's employing a French locale, albeit Parisian and not Rouennais, and a valet turned astrologer. But even this conclusion must be tempered by the knowledge that Néel had placed his scene "à Chaalons en Champagne."

Grandval owes far more to Thomas Corneille's *Le feint astrologue* (1650), which, while it enjoyed three Rouen printings, is even more in debt to *El Astrólogo fingido* than d'Ouville's play. Corneille's comedy is laid in Madrid; the names of certain Calderonian characters are retained; the valet does not play the astrologer. But it is obvious that Grandval looked to this play, the success of which might even have tempted him to choose as the subject of a play "cette merveilleuse & divine science." For example, Corneille, following Mlle de Scudéry, presents his as-

trologer as a student of Nostradamus by having D. Fernand reveal to Lucrèce,

Du grand Nostradamus j'acquis la connoissance,
Avec tant de bonheur qu'il m'enseigna son Art,
Et n'eut point de secrets dont il ne me fist part.

Hearing this, Beatrix exclaims, "Oh! L'habile homme" (II, 2). In like manner, Grandval's Finette assures Oronte that Francisque is "un parent de Nostradamus, c'est tout dire," whereat Oronte ejaculates in his turn, "Parent de Nostradamus! Je ne m'étonne pas s'il est si habile" (sc. 6). Secondly, D. Fernand is trapped by his lack of astro-planetary knowledge into such pronouncements as

Venus aux amoureux promet beaucoup de biens,
Et Saturne peut tout sur les Saturniens (II, 3).

When Francisque describes the skills of his profession, he says,

Nous lisons dans les astres que les choses futures lesquelles produisent les aventures [sic] étranges, et la métémpsicose . . . qui par le rond oblique de Saturne . . . voudroit que . . . je suis votre serviteur (sc. 7).

In addition to the parallel references to Nostradamus, Saturn, and the double use of the word, "habile," an additional similarity is lodged in the fact that D. Louys, pretending not to see D. Lope, whets the latter's interest in the advent of the pseudo-astrologer by exclaiming,

O surprenant prodige! Incroyable merveille!
N'est-ce point quelque songe, est-il vray que je veille?

To this, D. Lope replies, "Qu'avez-vous, D. Louys?" (I, 6). In like fashion, even to the fact that it occurs coincidentally at the beginning of the sixth scene, Finette employs the same device by ignoring Oronte's presence and exclaiming, "Ah! Quelle merveille! Quel prodige!" And when Oronte cannot gain her attention, he asks, "Comment? Qu'as-tu donc?" Lastly, Corneille's astrologer offers the pronouncement that the girl should marry D. Juan since Heaven decrees it (V, II) while Finette, in her efforts to convince Oronte of the reasonability of consulting Francisque, argues,

Mr. comme on dit que les mariages sont faits la haut [sic] avant que d'être faits ici bas, si vous le consultiez sur celui de votre fille, il vous diroit s'il sera heureux (sc. 7).

And as Leonard, the gullible father, accepts the suggestion in Corneille's play (V, 11) so does Oronte in spite of his anticipation of Mme Nigaudet's vixenish reaction: "Elle est bien moins à craindre que les Astres" (sc. 7).

But while it is not clear whether or not Corneille's Fernand renounces astrology and while it is apparent that his prototypes in France and Spain forswear this science, Francisque reveals to Oronte at the end of *Le valet astrologue* that he has cloaked himself in astrological garb only "pour chasser le rival de mon maître et vous faire consentir à luy donner votre fille en mariage," a confession that Oronte accepts gracefully (sc. 11).

It is possible, therefore, to report that Grandval's play, dated 1710, is not a condensed version of *L'illusion grotesque*, that it is in debt to Corneille's *Le feint astrologue* for certain comic details, and that it adheres to the conventions demanded of the one-act comedy of its day.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

CANADIAN-FRENCH *BADER*, *BADRER*, ENGLISH *BOTHER*

By GERARD J. BRAULT

FRENCH CANADA was a linguistic melting-pot during the Ancien Régime and elements of practically every dialect and patois spoken in the western part of France were fused together to form a fascinating patchwork quilt. Certain Canadian-French expressions (e.g. *bombe* vs. *canard* 'teakettle', and *pichou*¹ vs. *chaussette* 'slipper') are standard in certain areas of the Province of Quebec and largely ignored in others. In view of the geographical and historical accident of the colonization of Canada by the French,² nearly every Canadian-French dialectal word either dates back to seventeenth-century France or developed indigenously. Very little lexicographical research has been undertaken in this very rich linguistic lode³ making it well-nigh impossible for the philologist to ascertain whether words like Can.-Fr. *boss*⁴ and *poutine* 'pudding'⁵ are indeed post-Ancien Régime anglicisms, as it is generally believed, or whether they are survivals of authentic French expressions.

1. See my "Five Canadian-French Etymologies: *barrabasser*, *brosse*, *Jean-Baptiste Beaufouet*, *piasse*, *pichou*," *RPh.*, XIV (1960), 18-22.

2. The bulk of the French-Canadian population is descended from the immigrants who settled in Canada between the years 1633-1673. The classic study is Benjamin Sulte, "Origin of the French Canadians," *Proc. and Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, 2d ser., XI (1905), 99-119. In 1674, Louis XIV summarily revoked the charter of the Compagnie des Cent Associés which had been charged with the colonization of Canada.

3. One notable exception is Jesuit Pierre Potier's eighteenth-century lexicon entitled "Façons de parler proverbiales, triviales, figurées, etc." which was incorporated into the indispensable *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* (GPFC) (Quebec, 1930). I understand that Prof. Gaston Dulong of Laval University has accumulated a great deal of lexicographical data in his study of early Canadian-French material. On the importance of this neglected field of research, see E. B. Ham, "Linguistic Lode in Rural Canada," *RPh.*, XI (1957-58), 18-20.

4. GPFC, pp. 134-135, as an anglicism; but see *FEW*, I, 203, s. v. *baes*, and Marius Valkhoff, *Les Mots français d'origine néerlandaise* (Amersfoort, 1931), p. 55.

5. P. Gardette, "Pour un dictionnaire de la langue canadienne," *RLiR*, XVIII (1955), 94.

A case in point is that of Can.-Fr. *bader*, *badrer* 'to annoy, to pester' and its derivatives (*badeurrie*, *badrage*, *badrant*, *badrement*, *badrerie*, *badreux*, and *badrie*),⁶ generally explained as borrowings from E *bother*.⁷ Geoffrion is the only scholar who ever pointed out examples of *badrer* and its derivatives in the French dialects:⁸

En Picardie, ou *ant* se prononce *ain* ou *en*, "une mère dira à son enfant: 'Veux-tu te taire, *badren*?' quand celui-ci lui fera des questions auxquelles elle ne voudra par répondre." L'auteur du glossaire auquel j'emprunte ce texte dit que *badren* est alors un diminutif de *badaud*, pris au sens de niais. Mais une mère canadienne ne parlerait pas autrement à son enfant qui l'importunerait de questions.

Badrer s'emploie aussi dans les parlers franco-normands de Jersey et de Guernesey. On relève ce verbe dans une chanson jersiaise:

Qu'i sont heureux les viers garçons!

I n'ont ni éfants, ni maisons,

Ni femm's à leus *badre* (r) la tête!

Et Georges Métivier, dans son *Dictionnaire franco-normand ou recueil des mots particuliers au dialecte de Guernesey* [(London and Edinburgh, 1870), p. 43], enregistre *badrair* (les Normands prononcent en *air* la terminaison des verbes de la première conjugaison) avec l'acception de 'lanterner, importuner, abasourdir'.

There can be little doubt that Geoffrion was on the right track and that Can.-Fr. *badrer* is a direct descendant of Lat. *batare* without any English influence whatsoever. Wartburg (*FEW*, I, 282-287) has shown that the Latin verb meaning 'to be open' yielded four classes of words in French as follows:

1. Fr. *béer* 'être ouvert, s'ouvrir';
2. Fr. *béer* 'ouvrir la bouche';
3. Fr. *béer* 'regarder bouche bée';
4. Fr. *badaud*, *bad:n* 'air imbécile, hébété'.

6. *GPFC*, pp. 85-86.

7. Sylva Clapin, *Dictionnaire canadien-français* (Montreal-Boston, 1894), p. 33; Joseph M. Carrière, "Creole Dialect of Missouri," *American Speech*, XIV (1939), 117; William N. Locke, *Pronunciation of the French Spoken in Brunswick, Maine* (Greensboro, 1949), p. 197; Louis-Alexandre Bélisle, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française au Canada* (Quebec, 1954), p. 89.

8. Louis-Philippe Geoffrion, *Zigzags autour de nos parlers*, 2d ser. (Quebec, 1925), pp. 213-218. The quotation which follows is on pp. 215-216. Geoffrion was one of the editors of the *GPFC*, but the latter source does not accept his proposal wholeheartedly. In addition to Métivier cited above, see also the *Glossaire du patois Jersiais* (Jersey, 1924), p. 14, s. v. *badrer*.

Fr.-Can. *bader*, *badrer* 'to annoy, to bother' is clearly related to dialectal French derivatives of the fourth class above, as exemplified by the following materials in Wartburg (*FEW*, I, 286):

Nfr. *badauder* (18 jh.), aveyr. *badauda* 'id.'; regarder *niaisement*; npr. *badalado* 'naïveté, bêtise', *badalu* 'musard, nigaud'. Havr. *bedole* 'sot, niais', poit. Chef-Bout. *bad(r)ole* 'niais', lyon. *badolé* 'badaud, nigaud', for. *badola*. Apr. *badarel* 'badauderie', npr. *badarèu* 'celui qui ne fait que baver ou cricr', périg. *bada(u)rèu* 'badaud', blim. *bodourel* 'bayeur, niais, nigaud, dandin'; d'Avon npr. *badarela* 'badauder, niaiser', blim. *bodourela*, périg. *badurà*, *bada(u) relà*, *baderleja*; *badurlo* 'baguenaodier'; *bad(o)urlaud* 'badaud', Tarn *baderlo* 'badaud', M, périg. id. Limagn. *badaré* 'imbécile', Ambert *badare* 'badaud, ahuri', npr. *badaire* 'badaud', bearn. *badayre*, Tarn *badairé*. Poit. *badori* 'niais', *badarin* 'badaud', St-Affrique *badè* 'badaud, niais'.

I further suggest that E *bother* is an early borrowing from the French source of this Canadianism.

Modern authorities are generally in accord that the Irish etyma which have been proposed for the English word are unsatisfactory.⁹ The *NED* (I, 1013) was already of this opinion:

Etymology unknown; the earliest instances occur in the writings of Irishmen (T. Sheridan, Swift, Sterne), and the word has long formed part of the vocabulary of the comic Irishman of fiction and the stage. This suggests an Anglo-Irish origin; but no suitable etymon has been found in Irish.

The Irish *bódhar* 'deaf', *bódhairim* 'I deafen' (suggested by Crofton Croker), and *buidhírt* 'trouble, affliction', *buidhírim* 'I vex' (proposed by Garnett) alike labour under the difficulty that the spoken words do not suggest *bodder* or *bother*. Wedgwood would identify the word with *pothor*: could *bother* be an Anglo-Irish corruption of the latter?

Wedgwood's suggestion presents serious phonological difficulties while the development of Lat. *batare* > Fr. *bader*, *badrer* > E *bodder*, *bother* is normal.¹⁰ The fact that the earliest

9. Jeremiah J. Hogan, *An Outline of English Philology* (Dublin and Cork, 1934), pp. 100-101, still believes that E *bother* "is probably of Irish origin," but admits to "the serious phonetic difficulty" of this proposal and concludes that an Anglo-Irish alteration of E *pothor* "seems likelier." This view, however, is opposed by Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (New York, 1937), p. 83.

10. See the treatment of E *father* in the *NED* for dial. the evolution of the medial consonant in ME. There is a very close resemblance between the sound of the *a* in *badrer* and that of the *o* in *bother*. On the Canadian-French vowel phoneme in question, see Locke, pp. 40-44. For a discussion of the difficulty of interrelating E *bother* and E *pothor*, consult the *NED*, s.v. *pothor*.

(1718) example of *E bother* happens to be found in Sheridan and that the next two instances are also from Irish authors need not disturb us. The *English Dialect Dictionary* (2, 351) provides us with several other early attestations in Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northampton, Essex, and Devon, including the date 1785 for Ayr County, Scotland, and 1790 for Cornwall. The *Scottish National Dictionary* (1, 57), finally, notes its occurrence in that dialect as early as 1773. In view of such widespread attestation in the eighteenth century, the absence of this word in earlier texts is a mere lexicographical accident which future research will doubtless eventually correct. *E bother* is clearly of French origin.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

OLD FRENCH *DANCIER*, GERMAN *TANZEN*

By PAUL W. BROSMAN, JR.

IF THE number and variety of etyma proposed may be taken as a measure of the importance of an unknown etymology, the question of the origin of OF *dancier* (> modern *danser*), Sp. *danzar*, Pg. *dançar*, It. *danzare*, Prov., Cat. *dansar* 'dance' deserves to be ranked among the major Romance problems of its type. Excellent brief summaries of the research which has been done on the subject may be found in the etymological dictionaries of Corominas and Wartburg.¹ The ready accessibility of these works makes it possible to summarize even more briefly here.

That the Old French verb is the source of the other Romance forms (and of Eng. *dance* as well) is universally agreed. There seems also to be general, if tacit, agreement that *dancier* is of Germanic origin. There is little agreement, however, as to the form of the Germanic etymon or the dialect whence it came. Of the numerous proposals which have been made, three have received serious consideration, as evidenced by their having been preferred, at one time or another, by one or more of the major compilations of French etymology, but none has gained general acceptance.

OHG *dansôn* 'stretch', suggested originally by Diez and preferred by Gamillscheg,² has been rejected on the ground that OF *nc* [nts] would not result from *ns*.³ This eliminates the necessity of deciding whether the etymology is satisfactory semantically. Wartburg and Bloch accept the proposal of Bruch: Low Frk. **dintjan* 'move here and there'.⁴ Meyer-Lübke does the same,

1. Juan Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* 2.107-8 (Bern, 1954).

Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 3.82 (Tübingen, 1949).

2. Ernst Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* 290 (Heidelberg, 1928).

3. For a reply to Gamillscheg's attempt to set aside the objection, see Corominas, loc. cit.

4. Wartburg, loc. cit.;

Oscar Bloch and Walther von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* 1.199-200 (Paris, 1932).

though with some reservations.⁵ In this case there is little semantic difficulty in getting from **dintjan* to *dancier*, for the meaning of the hypothetical etymon has been made to order. Within Germanic, however, there is a considerable semantic problem.⁶ There are formal uncertainties as well: LG *deinsen*, Dutch *deinzen*, the verb usually cited in support of the reconstruction, does not establish the existence of an earlier LG **dintjan*.⁷ Finally, *dancier* < **dintjan* would require that *dancier* have been earlier than *dancier*, when the reverse appears to have been true. The third proposal is based upon an assumed Gmc. **danatjan*, derived by addition of the suffix *-atjan* to the root seen in NHG *tenne* 'threshing-floor', OHG *tenni* 'flat surface'. This etymology, suggested by Kluge, once found favor, but now is generally rejected.⁸ It takes two forms: Low Frk. **danatjan* and OHG **danetzen*. The principal objection to it is that there is no evidence in any Germanic dialect to suggest that a verb **danatjan* existed. Another, directed at **danetzen* alone, holds that the Old High German form, with shifted **tt* and unshifted **d*, is phonologically improper.⁹ This criticism is not valid, however, for **danetzen*, while improper for the East Franconian dialect which has been arbitrarily selected by modern Germanic scholars as 'standard' Old High German (and for the Upper German dialects as well), is the form to be expected in two Old High German dialects. Rhine and Central Franconian.¹⁰ That this is true is of little consequence so far as **danetzen* is concerned, since the original objection is sufficient to justify rejection of the etymology. It is of significance, however, for the problem as a whole.

The difficulty in establishing a suitable etymon has been funda-

5. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ 241 (Heidelberg, 1935).

6. See Corominas, loc. cit. for a discussion of the difficulties involved.

7. Alois Walde and Julius Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1.854 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930) reconstruct **dantison* as the etymon of *deinsen*. NFrk. *dintje* 'tremble slightly' is late and possibly of recent denominative origin.

8. Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*¹⁸ 770 (Berlin, 1960).

9. Corominas, loc. cit.

10. For a description of the High German sound shift and of the degree to which the various dialects were affected, see Wilhelm Braune, *Abriss der althochdeutschen Grammatik*⁸ 21 (Haale, 1950).

mentally phonological. Although the objections to the individual finished products have as often been semantic, numerous formal approximations of *dancier* may be found in a suitable semantic sphere within a variety of Germanic dialects, as a glance at the large number of words cited in secondary support of **dintjan* will show.¹¹ The problem has been to obtain from this mass of material a form in which initial *d* is combined with the dental affricate [ts] in the interior. The occurrence of the affricate points to an Old High German etymon. In 'standard' Old High German, however, such a combination cannot occur in words having cognates with Gmc. initial **d*, for there both **d* and **t* underwent the High German sound shift. The objection to OHG **danetzen* suggests that it is the 'standard' form which has been taken as representative of Old High German. This explains why Old High German has been abandoned in favor of attempts to reconstruct *jan-* verbs within Low Franconian. The phonological problem has been surmounted through reliance upon the spread of the reflex of the **-tj-* combination which would occur in some forms of such verbs to account for the Old French affricate which is needed to accompany unshifted Low Frk. **d*. In the process, however, other difficulties have arisen, for it has been possible to avoid insufficient justification of the hypothetical etyma only by basing the reconstructions upon attested forms so remote from the central meaning as to raise semantic doubts.

As indicated above, the 'standardization' of Old High German in its East Franconian form took place (for practical purposes of an intra-Germanic nature) centuries after the dialects ceased to be used. At the time they were spoken, all dialects were on a par, their relative likelihood as the source of a particular borrowing dependent only upon the usual geographic and historical factors. On this basis both Rhine and Central Franconian appear much more likely donors to Old French than was East Franconian. The centers of Central Franconian were Cologne and Trèves. East Franconian derives its name from its location east of Rhine Franconian, which originally was spoken along both sides of the Rhine in and opposite Alsace, between East Franconian and the speakers of incipient French. Later, it spread across Lorraine and into Champagne, where it remained in use for some three centuries

11. Corominas, loc. cit.

before receding to the region of the Rhine once more.¹² Rhine Franconian would therefore seem the single most plausible source. In the present instance, however, a choice between it and Central Franconian is not an immediate necessity, for the etymon of *dancier* would have had the same form in both dialects.

ON *datta* 'pound rapidly' has already been cited in connection with *dancier*. It is one of the words used to support the meaning postulated for **dintjan*. In this role it has been rejected with good reason.¹³ A direct connection with *dancier* would be more plausible semantically. That it has not been made renders more certain the conclusion that confusion concerning the position of East Franconian phonetics within those of Old High German has been the principal impediment to solution of the problem. *datta* points to PGmc. **dantôn*,¹⁴ which would have become in Rhine (or Central) Franconian, where **t(t)* was shifted and initial **d* was not, **danzôn* 'pound', perhaps 'pound (with the feet), dance' (> OF *dancier*) and in East Franconian,¹⁵ **tanzôn* > MHG, NHG *tanzen*. A semantic parallel may be obtained from the development ascribed to Got. *briskan* 'strike, thresh' > OF *treschier* 'dance'.¹⁶

That Ger. *tanzen* is in some way related to *dancier* is obvious and has of course been recognized from the beginning. That it has received no consideration as a possible etymon is due to the

12. Urban T. Holmes, Jr. and Alexander H. Schutz, *A History of the French Language* 29 (New York, 1938).

13. Corominas, loc. cit.

14. Walde-Pokorny, 1.853.4 have (without reference to the present question) already reconstructed **dantôn* as the etymon.

15. East Franconian was for most practical purposes the ancestor of standard New High German as well as the 'standard' form of the older language. These two facts are, of course, not unrelated.

16. Meyer-Lübke, 722. The same etymology has been cited in support of **danatjan*. It is more appropriate in the present instance, however. The central meaning of Got. *briskan* and its closest congeners is clearly 'strike, beat' (Walde-Pokorny, 730). 'Thresh' and 'dance' are two different specializations of this meaning. The intermediate stage of 'beat (with the feet), stamp, stomp' is attested in Italian borrowings of *briskan* (Meyer-Lübke, loc cit). OHG *tenni*, upon which **danatjan* is based, had as its central meaning 'flat, level' (Walde-Pokorny 853) and is connected with threshing only through the use of a flat surface as a threshing-floor. That 'thresh', 'dance' and 'pound' all denote actions consisting of or involving repeated striking makes the parallelism between *treschier* and *dancier* almost exact.

previously mentioned problem of initial *t:d* alternation. The commonly accepted explanation of *tanzen* is that it too is a borrowing of *dancier*. Explanation in this fashion is still not free of complications, for there is once again the same *t:d* question. *tanzen* must therefore be treated as a problem distinct from that of Eng. *dance* and the Romance words, all of which contain initial *d*. The solution which has been devised holds that *dancier* was borrowed first by Low German and then was taken from Low German into Middle High German.¹⁷ According to this explanation initial *t* results from a conscious observation of High and Low German phonological correspondence on the part of the Middle High German borrowers. Acceptance of **danzôn* as the etymon of *dancier* does not, of course, require that we abandon the current view concerning *tanzen*. **danzôn* could serve as well as **dintjan*, et al. as the source of the original borrowing from Germanic into French which preceded the three-cornered process of reborrowing into Germanic. That **danzôn* provides in its East Franconian equivalent a suitable inherited etymon for *tanzen* suggests, however, that the explanation of *tanzen* should be abandoned, for it seems quite improbable, in particular the substitution of *t* for *d*. Several other words are supposed to have been borrowed from Low German under the same circumstances: *Wappen* 'escutcheon', *Tölpel* 'boor, lout', *Schach* 'chess', *Roche* 'rook', *Ritter* 'knight', *hübsch* 'pretty'.¹⁸ Some of these also afforded an opportunity to re-enact the High German sound shift, but this was done only in *Ritter*, where the obvious connection with *rîten* 'ride' (*reit, rîten, geriten*) is the probable explanation.¹⁹ Moreover, if *tanzen* was borrowed around 1200, as is assumed, there probably was no uniform correspondence of LG *d* and HG *t* in the speech from which it was taken. After the change Gmc. **þ > d* had been

17. Kluge, 770.

18. *ibid.*

19. More is involved in *Schach* and *Roche* than an awareness of a correspondence between two familiar sounds. Unlike initial *d*, intervocalic [k] was not inherited in High German, where it had become *h(h)* (MHG *ch*). Throughout the paradigm of *Roche* (and of Lat. *rochus*, which is a further complication) *ch < [k]* was intervocalic. It was also intervocalic in half the forms of *Schach*. In final position [k] was inherited, as an unvoicing of *g* or a simplification of geminated *h*. This, however, resulted in the morphological patterns *-c, -ges (tac, tages)* and *-c, -ckes (roc, rockes)* as opposed to *-ch, -ches (buoch, buoches)*.

completed in Low German, LG $d < \text{Gmc. } *d$ corresponded to HG t , but the counterpart of LG $d < \text{Gmc. } *b$ was also d in High German. The history of *Tölpel*, supposedly borrowed at the same time as *tanzen*, is an indication that the change had in fact been completed, for *Tölpel* entered High German with initial d .²⁰ The t which it now possesses arose later as the result of another process.

It is true that *tanzen* is not attested until the Middle High German period. A not implausible reason for its failure to occur in Old High German is that dancing is not a subject much discussed in the Old High German texts. It is possible that ecclesiastical disapproval had the same effect with respect to the dance among the Germans as it did upon the traditional Germanic literature. The churchmen succeeded, of course, in excluding virtually all references to the literature from the written records of Old High German, but failed to suppress the literature itself, which later emerged in the themes of Middle High German works. That it provides solutions for two distinct etymological problems in Romance and German makes it probable that the reflex of PGmc. **dantôn* did occur in Old High German.

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20. Kluge, 782.

A NOTE ON *LE MARIAGE DU DIABLE*

By THEODORE TOULON BECK

FOR THE BENEFIT of the readers of *Les Œuvres Libres*, Madame Louise Weiss has adapted the tale of the girl who married the devil, a fable which she discovered in a Louisiana folk-tale, related in "gumbo".¹ The theme is a familiar one and has appeared intermittently in various forms and languages since the Middle Ages. However, from a linguistic point of view, the interpretation leaves something to be desired.

The language is represented as a dialect of the Negroes of the Creole regions, whereas the term *gumbo* is used, not by Negroes, but by the English-speaking people to refer pejoratively to the Louisiana Creole dialect.² The adaptation is in modern French, of course, but the author includes two citations from the alleged dialect. These two sentences suffice to indicate that the writer either was not acquainted with the language or was unable to reduce it to writing in such a manner as to reproduce properly the sounds.

The introductory sentence of the tale is as follows: "*Il y avait dans le temps une jeune fille, jolie certes, mais très orgueilleuse,*" which is transcribed from the pseudo-gumbo: "*Em you té gagnin eun jolie fille mais li ti fière.*" The rendition *Il y avait dans le temps* is obviously incorrect. *Em you* is absolutely indefensible. *you* being a form of the Haitian definite article which has no place whatsoever for inclusion in the sentence. The word *eun* is extant in pronunciation but as a numeral in *eun, deux, trois*, etc. and used only by the Whites who speak the dialect. The Negro uses [*en*] in that construction, with the only other variations being [*e*] for masculine or feminine.

From the context and the partial transcription it is possible that the original Creole French may have been as follows: [*e ye te geje e zoli fiy me li te fje*]⁴ which would be rendered in Eng-

1. *Les Œuvres Libres*, Vol. 167, (mai 1960), pp. 273-276.

2. No Texan would refer to himself as a *gringo*.

3. *Les Œuvres Libres*, p. 273.

4. Letter from Professor Huguet Major, Louisiana State University, May 30, 1960.

lish as: "And they had a beautiful daughter, but she was proud."

The other sentence cited was reproduced in a somewhat better fashion: "*Li ti plis oulé marié encore pas que li té marié djabe*,"⁵ which ought to have been written more carefully and in such a way as to show the original pronunciation as [*Li te pi ole marje āko pas ke li te marje dzab*], whose English translation would be: "She no longer wanted to get married again because she had married the devil."

Realizing the difficulties that confront a writer who is attempting to represent a dialect although hampered by traditional orthography and limitations of type-setting, one may well sympathize with Madame Weiss but may regret also her lack of accuracy.

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5. *Les Œuvres Libres*, p. 276.

AN ANALYSIS OF "POEMA DE UN DÍA:" THE PHILOSOPHY OF BERGSON IN MACHADO'S CONCEPT OF TIME

By CAROLYN MORROW

WHILE IN PARIS in 1910-11 on a grant from the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios, Antonio Machado attended the classes of Henri Bergson at the Sorbonne and there received one of the most important influences of his life. What resulted from his contact with the French philosopher may perhaps be seen most clearly in "Poema de un día," the poet's first great work after his return from Paris and the death of his wife in August, 1912. Written in Baeza in 1913 and first published in the *Poesías completas* of 1917, "Poema de un día" is significant in both the artistic and philosophical development of its author, for it brings together many of the themes prominent in the early *Soledades*, *galerías y otros poemas* (1907) and, in addition, hints at the style and thoughts of future works such as *De un cancionero apócrifo* (1931) and *Juan de Mairena* (1936). The meditations on death, the destiny of man, and time recall *Soledades*. New elements are the poet's concern with philosophy and philosophers and his far more serene attitude toward the peasants.¹ Also new are the work's occasional touches of humor and its rather austere and abbreviated manner. The latter gives a suggestion of the stylistic perfection reminiscent of the Symbolists that will be seen later in the verses of the *Cancionero apócrifo*.²

A central concern of "Poema de un día," and indeed of much of the work of Machado, is that with time. One will note in the poet's concept of time many similarities with the thoughts of Bergson. Some of these appear before the trip to Paris in 1910,³

1. Typical of his earlier feeling toward the country folk are "Por tierras de España" and "Un criminal," from the first edition of *Campos de Castilla* (1912); in the latter he speaks bitterly of "un pueblo, carne de horca." The attitude of the "Poema" is very different, for here Machado identifies himself with the tillers of the earth: "Fantástico labrador, / pienso en los campos."

2. Bernardo Gicovate, "El testamento poético de Antonio Machado," *PMLA*, LXXI (1956), 42-50.

3. A. Sánchez Barbudo, *Estudios sobre Unamuno y Machado* (Madrid, 1959), p. 264.

but without the depth of meaning which they will acquire in his later poetry. An intermingling of past and present states, basic to Bergson's theory of *la durée*, is revealed in the thoughts of Machado in one of the first poems of *Soledades*:

¡Alegría infantil en los rincones
de las ciudades muertas! . . .
¡Y algo nuestro de ayer, que todavía
vemos vagar por estas calles viejas!⁴

But it is in the "Proverbios y cantares" of a later book, *Nuevas canciones* (1924), that his most nearly perfect expression of this idea occurs: "Hoy es siempre todavía."

Like Bergson's *durée*, Machado's time is a stream that never ceases flowing. In "Poema de un día" its continuous passing is symbolized in the parallel sounds of the clock and the raindrops:

Clarea
el reloj arrinconado,
y su tic-tic, olvidado
por repetido, golpea.
(Tic-tic, tic-tic) . . . Era un día
(tic-tic, tic-tic) que pasó, . . .

Tic-tic, tic-tic . . . Ya pasó
un día como otro día, . . .

Fuera llueve un agua fina,
que ora se trueca en neblina
ora se torna aguanieve.

¡Señor,
qué bien haces! Llueve, llueve
tu agua constante y menuda . . .

¡Llueve, llueve; tu neblina
que se torne en aguanieve
y otra vez en agua fina!
¡Llueve, Señor, llueve, llueve!

The repeated mention of the rain and the clock here is also a subtle factor in unifying the various parts of the poem.

Machado shares Bergson's belief in an inner self, a fundamental self whose essence is time. With this concept only beginning to develop in his mind, he had written in *Soledades*: "Ya nuestra

4. *Obras completas* (México: Editorial Séneca, 1940), p. 40.

vida es tiempo . . ." (p. 70). Now in "Poema de un día" one sees how much further this idea has evolved, as the inner being is presented in clear and quite Bergsonian terminology:

Sobre mi mesa *Los datos*
de la conciencia, inmediatos.
No está mal
este yo fundamental,
contingente y libre, a ratos,
creativo, original; . . .

For Machado, as for Bergson, the flow of the fundamental self, its intermingling past and present, cannot be measured by the precise movements of the clock's hand. The monotonous tic-tic of the clock is only "el latido de un corazón de metal" and what it measures is "un tiempo vacío," the mathematical, "abstract" time of which the philosopher writes. The poet rebels against the authority of the clock and asks in anguish: "Pero, ¿tu hora es la mía / ¿Tu tiempo, reloj, el mío?"

Quite unlike Bergson, however, is Machado's feeling of anguish at "la marcha inexorable del tiempo."⁵ The thought of a ceaseless, ever-expanding, creative *durée* is one of pleasure and reassurance for the French philosopher, but for Machado the passing of a day means that death has taken from him a precious object:

Era un día
(tic-tic, tic-tic) que pasó,
y lo que yo más quería
la muerte se lo llevó.

Also very different from anything in Bergson is the despair expressed in the last verses of the poem:

este yo que vive y siente
dentro la carne mortal
¡ay! por saltar impaciente
las bardas de su corral.

Convinced that "la rima verbal y pobre, / y temporal, es la rica" (p. 346), Machado employs several techniques to emphasize his concern with time. Very obvious is the abundant usage of verb forms in all the tenses, present, past, and future. Often the poet

5. R. L. Predmore, "El tiempo en la poesía de Antonio Machado," *PMLA*, LXIII (1948), 703.

will view objects from all three perspectives—thus affirming once again the linking of past, present, and future in his own mind. In "A un olmo seco" he contemplates the present state of the elm ("Ejército de hormigas en hilera / va trepando por él . . ."), narrates its past ("hendido por el rayo / y en su mitad podrido"), and, in addition, looks forward to its future ("No será, cual los álamos cantores / . . . habitado de pardos ruiseñores"). In "Poema de un día" appears the same technique of situating an object in all three areas of time:

Te bendecirán conmigo
 los sembradores del trigo;

 los que hogaño
 como antaño,
 tienen toda su moneda
 en la rueda,
 traidora rueda del año.

Terms related to time, another device for stressing *el fluir del tiempo*, abound in the poetry of Machado. The divisions of the day, especially *la tarde*, and the seasons of the year are mentioned constantly; in the "Poema" one finds: "tarde gris," "anochece," "es de noche," "luz invernal," "Invierno. Cerca del fuego."

The monotonous tic-tic of the clock and constant fall of the raindrops are also used to emphasize the ceaseless passing of time. The clock makes its appearance in the first poem of *Solitudes* and thereafter appears quite often. Usually it only forms part of the background, rarely functioning so importantly as in "Poema de un día." It is curious that in one passage of the "Poema" the message of the clock almost duplicates that of the water in an earlier poem, "Hastío:"⁶

Ya pasó
 un día como otro día
 dice la monotonía
 del reló.

Dice la monotonía
 del agua clara al caer:
 un día es como otro día;
 hoy es lo mismo que ayer.

6. Ramón de Zubiría, *La poesía de Antonio Machado*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1959), p. 44.

The most frequent symbol of the passing of time is indeed the flowing water, the water of *la noria*, *el río*, *la lluvia*, and, particularly, *la fuente*.

"Poema de un día" thus reveals advances in both the thought and technique of Machado. The influence of Bergson has developed the intuition of time seen in *Soledades* into the profound philosophy of "Poema de un día" and the later works. Machado's interest in philosophy will increase steadily as will the complexity and artistry of his poetry. The rather laconic manner of the "Poema," very unlike that of his earlier works, is a suggestion of the terse refinement to come in the verses of the *Cancionero apócrifo*. Perhaps it is the new ideas initiated by Bergson and then stimulated by the conscientious study of many other philosophers which evoke in Machado this need for a new style.

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| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Two Sonnets Attributed to A. Piccolomini.</i> Joseph G. Fucilla | 111 |
| <i>Adam's Stand, Purg. XXX, 82-84.</i> John Freccero | 115 |
| <i>Giono's Rustic Dramas.</i> Maxwell A. Smith | 119 |
| <i>Maupassant's Bel Ami and Heinrich Mann's</i> <i>Im Schlaraffenland.</i> Ulrich Weisstein | 124 |
| <i>Sainte-Bewve et le Seizième Siècle.</i> Marcel Françon | 129 |
| <i>A Zodiacal Note: Grandval's Le Valet Astrologue (1710).</i> Spire Pitou | 133 |
| <i>Canadian-French Bader, Badrer, English Bother.</i> Gerard J. Brault | 137 |
| <i>Old French Dancier, German Tanzen.</i> Paul W. Brosman, Jr. | 141 |
| <i>A Note on Le Mariage du Diable.</i> Theodore Toulon Beck | 147 |
| <i>An Analysis of "Poema de un Dia": the Philosophy</i> <i>of Bergson in Machado's Concept of Time.</i> Carolyn Morrow | 149 |

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